

Who Are the

Pennsylvania-Germans?



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THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMANS.



Benjamin Rush

B. DECEMBER 24, 1745; D. APRIL 19, 1813.

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An Account of the Manners
of the
German Inhabitants
of
Pennsylvania
by
Benjamin Rush, M.D.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND ANNOTATIONS

BY

THEODORE E. SCHMAUK

EX-PRESIDENT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY, AND CHAIRMAN OF ITS
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

AND WITH

THE NOTES OF I. D. RUPP REVISED



LANCASTER, PA.

1910

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PREFATORY NOTE.

This classical essay of Dr. Rush, taken from his works, would have appeared last year, on the One Hundred and Twentieth Anniversary of its original publication, had it been possible for the writer to complete the annotations in time.

Material not otherwise credited may in general be ascribed to the undersigned, and illustrations to Dr. J. F. Sachse.

Theodore F. Schenck



WORKS ON BENJAMIN RUSH.

The following list contains the biographical works alluded to in the present volume:

AN EULOGIUM IN MEMORY OF THE LATE DR. BENJAMIN RUSH. Delivered and Published at the Request of the Graduates and Students of Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania, by William Staughton, D.D. Philadelphia, 1813.

ELEGIAC POEM ON THE DEATH OF DR. BENJAMIN RUSH. Philadelphia, 1813.

AN EULOGIUM UPON BENJAMIN RUSH, M.D. Written at the Request of the Medical Society of South Carolina. By David Ramsay, M.D. Philadelphia, Bradford and Inskip, 1813.

AN INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE TO A COURSE OF LECTURES ON THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF PHYSICS, AND A TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF THE LATE DR. BENJAMIN RUSH. Delivered at the College of Physicians and Surgeons (New York), on the Third of November, 1813, by David Hasock, M.D., F.L.S. New York, 1813.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMORIAL OF DR. BENJAMIN RUSH. From Evangelical Repository, by Ebenezer Harlow Cummins. Philadelphia, February, 1816. Vol. I., No. 2.

LIFE OF BENJAMIN RUSH. By J. Sanderson. Sandersons' Biography of the Signers. Vol. IV. Philadelphia, 1820-1827. (Illustr. ed., 1865).

NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY OF DISTINGUISHED AMERICANS. Vol. III. Philadelphia, 1836.

THE CHARACTER OF RUSH. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE ON MEDICINE, IN THE PHILADELPHIA COLLEGE OF MEDICINE (March, 1848). By Thomas D. Mitchell, Professor in the Philadelphia College of Medicine. Philadelphia, 1848.

SKETCH OF BENJAMIN RUSH. By H. D. Gilpin.

BENJAMIN RUSH. By William Pepper. An address before the American Medical Association at Newport, R. I., June, 1889. Chicago, 1890.

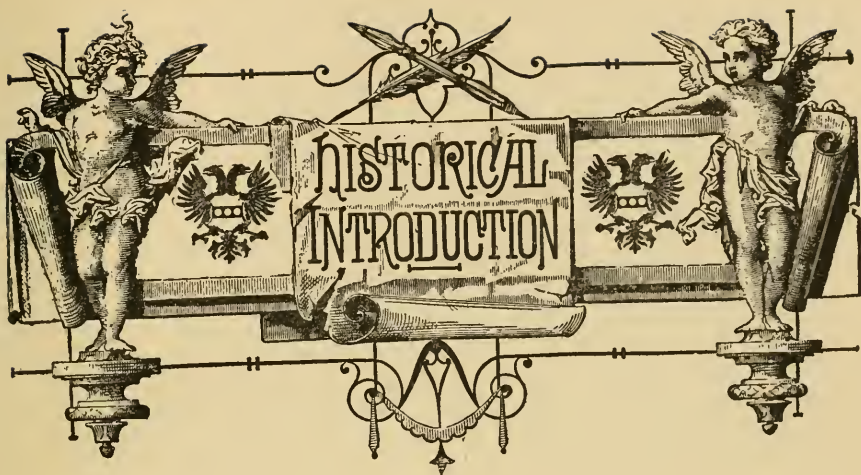
CRITICISM OF WM. B. REED'S ASPERSIONS ON THE CHARACTER OF DR. BENJAMIN RUSH. By a member of the Philadelphia Bar. (John G. Johnson.)

HISTORICAL NOTES OF DR. BENJAMIN RUSH. Mitchell. Pennsylvania Magazine. Philadelphia, 1903.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE UNVEILING OF A MONUMENT BY THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION TO THE MEMORY OF BENJAMIN RUSH IN WASHINGTON, by James Wilson, M.A., M.D., June 11, 1904. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1904.

A MEMORIAL OF DR. BENJAMIN RUSH WRITTEN BY HIMSELF. Published privately by Louis Alexander Biddle. Lanorie, 1905. (Sign of the Ivy Leaf, Sansom Street, Philadelphia.)





INTRODUCTION.

I. THE AUTHOR.



THE fathers of the Pennsylvania-Germans could have had no more distinguished eulogist than Dr. Benjamin Rush.¹ In peace and in war, in politics and in society, in legislation and in letters, in labors for the welfare of humanity, in pre-Revo-

¹ BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Benjamin Rush was born in Bucks County, December 24, 1745. He was at the height of his career during his country's struggle for independence and during its first constitutional period. His essay on the German Inhabitants was written in 1789. He died, while still in the midst of affairs, on April 19, 1813. Contemporaries recognized his greatness, and his death immediately

lutionary and Post-Revolutionary activity, he was one of called forth a number of biographies and eulogies. The earliest of these was at the request of the University of Pennsylvania, and was an address by Dr. Staughton, the Presbyterian minister in Philadelphia. A second was in the form of an Elegiac Poem, with clever lines, but in the most stilted and extravagant eighteenth century style, contrasting to a marked extent with the sobriety and poise of Dr. Rush's own writings. A third, and the best by far, for solid information and genuine insight, is the Eulogy written at the request of the South Carolina Medical Society by one of his former pupils and friends, Dr. David Ramsay. A fourth is found in a lecture delivered before the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York by Dr. David Hasock.

In 1836, The National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans published a life of Rush, with a fine full-page steel engraving, in its third volume, the material of which, however, depends upon the Eulogy by Ramsay mentioned above, and upon the Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence. There is also a painting of Benjamin Rush executed by Charles Wilson Peale, a reproduction of which is found in Biddle, *Autobiography of Rush*, opposite p. 237; and a portrait of Rush by Sully in The Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia.

In 1890 Provost William Pepper, of the University, made a thorough study of the life of Benjamin Rush.

In 1904, Dr. James Wilson, of Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, delivered a discriminative address on Benjamin Rush at the unveiling of the monument to the latter, in Washington, D. C.

The fullest and most important, as well as the most recent life of Dr. Benjamin Rush, is that privately published by Louis Alexander Biddle, under the title "A Memorial of Dr. Benjamin Rush Written by Himself" (1905), which is devoted chiefly to the history of the Rush family and its founder, but which contains the extensive and valuable autobiographical diary of Dr. Rush.

the makers of the nation, and Pennsylvania had no more distinguished² citizen.³

The fullest collection of Rush titles is to be found in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The Philadelphia Library, founded by Franklin, the friend of Rush, strange to say, contains little biographical material worthy of this great Pennsylvanian, although some of the volumes of his diary, much mutilated, are in its possession; and the list of titles available at its Ridgway Branch, founded by the son of Dr. Benjamin Rush, who left a million dollars for this purpose, and named the library in honor of his wife, is not complete. The Ridgway Branch contains a large collection of manuscript letters written to Dr. Rush.

² FAME OF DR. RUSH.

"The name of Dr. Rush gave a splendor to the American character, and greatly added to its reputation throughout the republic of letters. His works are read coextensively with the language in which they are written, and are daily quoted as standard medical authority by the learned of different nations. . . . He has been one of the most prominent pillars, on which his country's claim to be ranked among learned nations has pre-eminently rested, ever since Franklin was no more."—Ramsay, *An Eulogium*, 1813, pp. 9–10.

In London, as a young man, Dr. Rush made the acquaintance of Benjamin West, Lord Macauley, and Oliver Goldsmith. Benjamin Franklin was his friend, and throughout his life in Philadelphia he moved on terms of intimacy with the leaders of the new Republic. In his Diary (Biddle, *Autobiography of Rush*, p. 81), he remarks, "John and Samuel Adams domesticated themselves in my family. . . . Patrick Henry was my patient under inoculation for the smallpox."

Shortly before his death, Dr. Rush effected a reconciliation between Thomas Jefferson and John Adams.—Johnson, p. 55. Jefferson in a letter to Adams, May 27, 1813, announcing Rush's death, said: "Another of our patriots of '76 is gone, my dear sir,

A graduate of Princeton,⁴ and of the University of Edinburgh, a student in London and in Paris⁵ under the tutelage of Franklin, who advanced means to pay his expenses, a professor of chemistry at the age of twenty-four, an advocate of the abolition of slavery, and one of the two organizers of the first anti-slavery society in America, a champion of colonial rights in pre-Revolu-

another of the Signers of the Independence of our country. And a better man than Rush could not have left us, more benevolent, more learned, of finer genius, or more honest."—Johnson, p. 50.

He also was intimate with Thomas Paine, though he did not approve of Paine's unbelief or of the dissoluteness of his life. He tells us, in his Diary, that it was he who, in conference with Paine, gave the title to Paine's "*Common Sense*."

"He was great in the midst of greatness."—Staughton, *An Eulogium*, 1813.

"One of the most original and powerful men whom medicine has ever claimed for a son."—Richardson.

"He will remain forever with us . . . as the first of our great physicians."—Pepper.

"The first Great American Physician."—Wilson.

³ Rush's preliminary draft of the Declaration of Independence, his writings in favor of Independence and of popular sovereignty, his critical and constructive work on the national and state Constitutions, his grappling with the problem of popular education, his inquiry into political, social, sanitary, criminal and other conditions, marked him as among the greatest of our citizens.

⁴ The then President of Princeton, Dr. Finley, was his uncle, and took a deep personal interest in his education. While at Edinburgh, Rush became the medium of inducing Witherspoon to immigrate to America.

⁵ He passed through his student days in this gay capital and other cities with unusual earnestness of purpose.

tionary movements,⁶ the chairman of the Provincial Conference of Pennsylvania who reported that it had become expedient for Congress to declare independence, a member of the Continental Congress, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence,⁷ a physician-general of the Revolutionary army, a moulder and an advocate of a Federal Constitution⁸ for the Union, a member of the State

⁶ "Rush was a member of the Provincial Conference of Pennsylvania, and with James Smith, served upon a committee to consider and report upon the question as to the expediency of the declaration of independence by Congress. The report of this committee, which is generally attributed to the pen of Rush, contained much that was incorporated into the Declaration, and urged that measure with great force."—Wilson, *Address in 1904*, p. 6.

⁷ "The vote for independence taken in Congress on July 2, 1776, was given by Pennsylvania as three in favor, Franklin, Wilson and Morton, and two against, Willing and Humphreys. Franklin was the only one of the Pennsylvania delegation who voted for independence from the beginning; Dickinson and Robert Morris absented themselves from the voting. The Declaration of Independence, adopted July 4, was a public expression of the vote taken on July 2. The signatures were attached in August, and the Pennsylvania signers, owing to some changes in the delegation, made by the convention of July 20, were Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson and George Ross.—Barr Ferree, *Pennsylvania: A Primer*, 1904.

Rush's principle was, "No form of government can be rational, but that which is derived from the suffrage of the people who are the subjects of it."—Biddle, *Autobiography of Rush*, p. 26.

⁸ Dr. Rush published four powerful Letters on the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776, a remarkable address in 1785 entitled *Considerations on the Test Laws of Pennsylvania*, and many able

Convention to ratify this Federal Constitution, a framer of the constitution for the State of Pennsylvania,⁹ an advocate of public schools before the time,¹⁰ president

though short articles in 1786-1787 in favor of the adoption of the Federal Constitution.—Pepper. Dr. Rush, with prophetic insight, anticipated the verdict of posterity as to the Federal Constitution. He declared it to be "a masterpiece of human wisdom."

⁹ His activity, and his series of letters on the Constitution of Pennsylvania, caused it to be changed through his influence.

¹⁰ RUSH ON PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Dr. Rush might well be termed the Father of the Public School Plan in America. The following is a list of his writings on the subject:

A PLAN FOR ESTABLISHING PUBLIC SCHOOLS in Pennsylvania, and for Conducting Education agreeably to a Republican Form of Government. Addressed to the Legislature and Citizens of Pennsylvania in the year 1786.—Rush, *Essays Literary, Moral*, etc.

THE MODE OF EDUCATION PROPER IN A REPUBLIC.—Rush, *Essays Literary, Moral*, etc.

OBSERVATIONS UPON THE STUDY of the Latin and Greek Languages as a Branch of Liberal Education, With Hints of a Plan of Liberal Instruction Without Them.—Rush, *Essays Literary, Moral*, etc.

THOUGHTS UPON FEMALE EDUCATION . . . in the United States of America.—Rush, *Essays Literary, Moral*, etc.

On this subject, Dr. Pepper (p. 10) remarks of Dr. Rush, "If time permitted, it would be easy to show that in the vital matter of education he was as active, as progressive and as far ahead of his contemporaries as he was in social science.

In 1786, "he addressed to the legislature of his own state, his memorable plan for the general diffusion of learning, which led the way for some of the most important educational provisions that have ever been devised or adopted in any country. So valu-

and secretary of the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery,¹¹ vice-president and a founder of the Philadelphia Bible Society,¹² a member of the American Philosophical Society, and treasurer of the United States Mint to the day of his death, Dr. Benjamin Rush, one hundred and twenty years ago, found the time, and felt it incumbent upon him not only to point out the sterling qualities of the German settlers in Pennsylvania, but also to call upon the "citizens of the United States"¹³ to learn from these Germans "to prize knowledge and industry in agriculture and manufactures"; and upon

able and yet concise are his leading arguments in favor of general education, that I venture to quote them here."—Mitchell, p. 9,

¹¹ March 1, 1780, the first abolition act passed in America was adopted by the Assembly of Pennsylvania "for the gradual abolition of slavery." It had been originally proposed by Vice-President Bryan in 1778. It provided that "all negro children born after March 1, 1780, might be held in service until the age of 21 and no longer." It has been estimated that there were then in Pennsylvania about 4,000 slaves; the census of 1790 gives the number as 3,737; in 1820 they had decreased to about 200.

"In 1794 a convention of abolition societies was held in Philadelphia, with delegates from Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland."—Barr Ferree, *Pennsylvania: A Primer*, 1904.

¹² The term "*Bible Society*" is said to have originated in Pennsylvania with Dr. Rush.

¹³ Philadelphia was at this time the capital of the United States (1790-1800), and Dr. Rush, like Franklin, by his writings was a national character, and through his students who settled in all parts of the land was an authoritative adviser on public questions and a recognized disseminator of culture. "Dr. Rush was a public writer for forty-nine years, and from the nineteenth to the sixty-eighth year of his age."—Ramsay, *An Eulogium*, p. 97.

BIBLIA,

Das ist:

Die

Heilige Schrift**Altes und Neues****Testaments,**

Nach der Deutschen Uebersetzung

D. Martin Luthers,Mit jedes Capitels kurzen Summarien, auch
beygefügt vielen und richtigen Parallelen**Nebst einem Anhang**Des dritten und vierten Buchs Esra und des
dritten Buchs der Maccabäer.

Germantown:**Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur, 1743.**

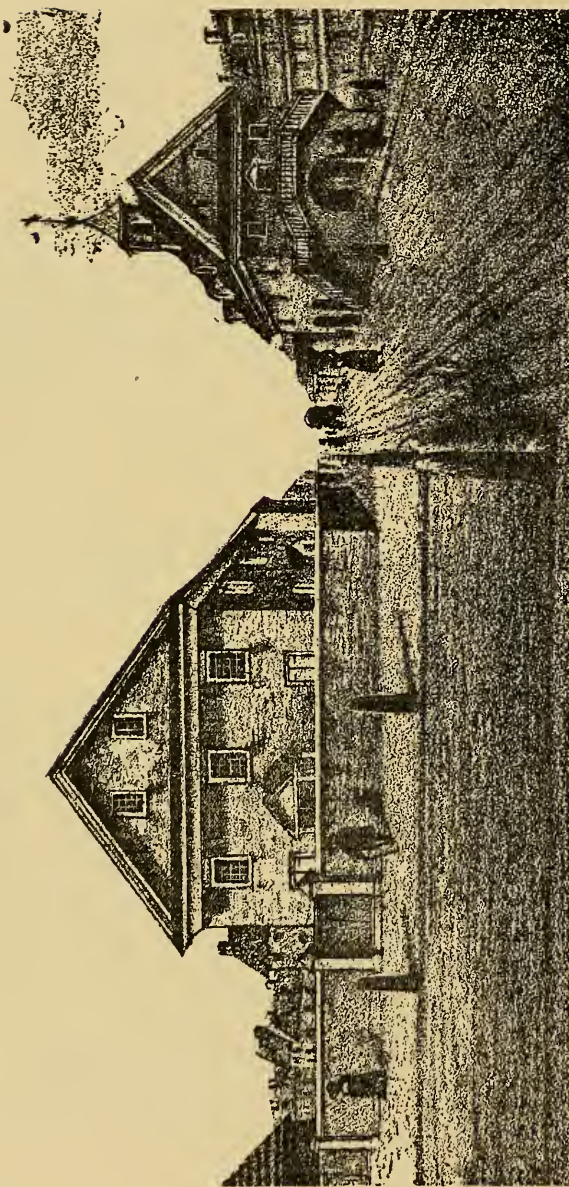
the legislators¹⁴ of the United States to "learn from the wealth and independence of the German inhabitants of Pennsylvania, to encourage industry and economy, the only pillars which can support the present Constitution¹⁵ of the United States."

Dr. Rush even felt it wise to admonish the lawmakers of Penn's commonwealth, to "learn from the history of your German fellow citizens, that you possess an inexhaustible treasure in the State *in their manners and arts*." He foresaw the modern greatness of the German language; and said, "Do not contend with their prejudices in favor of their language. It will be the channel through which the knowledge and discoveries of the nations in Europe may be conveyed into our country. In proportion as they are instructed and enlightened in their *own* language, they will become acquainted with the language of the United States."

Dr. Rush was a Quaker descendant from a cavalry captain in Cromwell's army, who followed Penn to this country in 1683. His earliest instructor was his uncle, a clergyman who subsequently became president of Princeton College. He himself graduated from Princeton in

¹⁴ "These great political subjects, for the time being, engrossed his whole soul—the independence of his country—the establishment of a good constitution for the United States, and for his own particular state—to enlighten the public mind and to diffuse correct ideas."—Ramsay, *An Eulogium*, p. 102.

¹⁵ The Constitution went into effect on March 4, 1789, Dr. Rush himself being a member of the convention which ratified it; and it was in this very year 1789 that he wrote the treatise which forms the subject of this work.



VIEWS IN OLD PHILADELPHIA DURING DR. RUSH'S LIFE, showing the Court House and Quaker Meeting at Second and Market Sts. From a Contemporary Drawing in the Collection of Julius F. Sachse.

1760, studied medicine for six years¹⁶ with a physician in Philadelphia, went to the University of Edinburgh for two years, spent another year in the hospitals of London and Paris, and at the age of twenty-four began to practice medicine, and teach chemistry in the Philadelphia Medical College.^{16a} For the next twenty years he was most actively engaged in Revolutionary and American problems bearing on the reconstruction of the nation. In 1789, the year in which he wrote his "Account of the Germans in Pennsylvania," at the age of forty-four, he became lecturer on the theory and practice of physic, and two years later, in 1791, when the Medical College which he had helped to found merged into the University of Pennsylvania, he became professor of the institutes of medicine and of chemical practice in the university; and in 1805 was made its professor of the theory and practice of physic.

During the Revolution¹⁷ Dr. Rush was in constant attendance on the wounded in the battles of Trenton,

¹⁶ It is said that during this whole term of six years, there were only two days on which he missed attendance for any and every cause whatsoever.

^{16a} "We find in the papers of the day, an imposing announcement of the arrival in this country of the new Professor, and the apparatus procured by him for the use of the college."—*The Character of Rush*, by Thomas D. Mitchell, Prof. in the Philadelphia College of Medicine. Philadelphia, 1848, p. 6.

¹⁷ Dr. Rush in describing his experience as a physician in Philadelphia after his return from the battle fields, throws a striking light upon the lack of patriotism in some prominent sections of Pennsylvania society. He says: "The part I took in the American Revolution, had left prejudices in the minds of the most wealthy citizens against me, for a great majority of them

Princeton, the Brandywine, Germantown, and in the sickness at Valley Forge.¹⁸ For twenty-nine years he was surgeon to the Pennsylvania Hospital, and for three years physician to the port of Philadelphia. He was a founder of the Philadelphia Dispensary, and of the College of Physicians. When the scourge of yellow fever broke out in Philadelphia in 1793 he visited from one hundred to one hundred and twenty patients daily.¹⁹ He was the first to proclaim that yellow fever is not contagious and that the disease is indigenous, and his writings on this subject made him famous throughout the world. He has been called the central figure in the medical world of Philadelphia, and gave a new impetus to the study of medicine in this country. It was probably he more than any other single man who made Philadelphia²⁰ the center of the study of medicine in the United States.

We can see him yet, this man of elegance and refinement, a master in the realm of letters; with professional practise, during later days, of overwhelming magnitude; in appearance slender but well proportioned, with prominent and finely shaped forehead, dignified features, and

had been loyalists in principle and conduct."—*Autobiography*, in the *Memorial of Rush*, 1905, p. 63.

¹⁸ He resigned his post in the army, because he could not prevent frauds on soldiers in relation to hospital stores, and other political abuses.

¹⁹ It is said that he is believed, through his method of treatment, to have saved the lives of six thousand persons.

²⁰ "He has lived for his country, and in a special degree, citizens of Philadelphia, he has lived for you."—Staughton, *An Eulogium*, p. 13.

"His death created a profound impression throughout the United States."—Wilson, p. 8.

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMANS.



SURGEON'S HALL, FIFTH STREET, EAST SIDE, BELOW LIBRARY STREET.

BUILT 1765, DEMOLISHED 1802.

eyes of an expressive blue (Nat. Portr. Gallery, III., Rush, p. 10); standing above middle size, dignified but pleasant in his address; seated in his chair and lecturing continuously to his students.

His first class numbered twenty, his last had risen to the enormous number of four hundred and thirty. Six years ago, Dr. James Wilson of Jefferson Medical College, speaking before the American Medical Association, declared, "To us, who behold him through the vista of one hundred years, he stands, not indeed, the most conspicuous figure of a time brilliant with heroic men and deeds, but great among the greatest, and certainly the most striking and impressive figure of the medical life of America at that period or any period since."

Over twenty-two hundred and fifty students attended his courses during his professorship in the Medical College of Philadelphia. When still in full vigor, in the sixty-ninth year of his life, he was seized with an epidemic typhus, and died after a few days' illness on April 19, 1813. He is buried in Christ Church Yard.²¹

Dr. Rush has given us the earliest, and perhaps the most exact history in the English language, of the Pennsylvania-German nature and character. It was written one hundred and twenty years ago, but was intended for English eyes; and we doubt whether many of even the most cultured of the descendants of those whom it describes had ever heard of it before it was brought to light

²¹ "If a tombstone be afforded for my death, I ask no further addition to it, than that 'I was an advocate of principles in medicine.'" This inscription was placed upon the tombstone of Dr. Rush in Christ Churchyard, and in 1863 it was said that the only word still thoroughly legible was the word "addition."—*National Portrait Gallery*, Vol. III. *Memorial of Rush*, 10.

and republished thirty-five years ago in a little volume now very rare, by I. D. Rupp, the local historian of many of the eastern counties of Pennsylvania. There are few works of this character able to endure the test of time, and that come to the modern eye with impressiveness, and without an antiquated flavor.^{21a}

The period in which Dr. Rush wrote his account of the Germans was a stirring one for the United States. Pennsylvania had been the first state to adopt the new Federal Constitution, in December, 1787; and the president of the state convention which had adopted it was a German. The next year, 1788, the members of the first Congress were elected, and among those from Pennsylvania were a number of Germans. In January, 1789, George Washington was elected the first President of the United States, and in April he passed through Philadelphia in triumphal procession to assume his office. At the close of this eventful year the seat of the national government, for ten years, was fixed in Philadelphia. Meanwhile, the first Congress, in this same year, had chosen a Pennsylvania-German as its first speaker. The president of the State was Benjamin Franklin; but as he was eighty years of age, many of his duties devolved upon the vice president, who up to the fall of 1788 had been General Peter Muhlenberg, another Pennsylvania-German. And now in 1789 and 1790 there was a great struggle going on in Pennsylvania over the new state constitu-

^{21a} "No better characterization of the Pennsylvania-Germans has ever been written than that of Dr. Rush, and his little essay, covering about twenty-five pages, is a classic in its way, certainly an historical document to be treated with due seriousness."—Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company. 1909. I, p. 131.

AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
MANNERS
OF THE
GERMAN INHABITANTS
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
WRITTEN 1789,
BY
BENJAMIN RUSH, M. D.
NOTES ADDED

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Sem. Gettysburg; Hon. Mem. of the Diagno-
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PUBLISHED BY
SAMUEL P. TOWN,
614 CHESTNUT ST.
PHILADELPHIA.
1875.

TITLE PAGE OF RUPP'S REPRINT OF DR. RUSH'S ACCOUNT.

(See footnote 34, on p. 28.)

tion to be formulated to harmonize the state government with the federal plan, in which the Germans took part, and in which Dr. Rush was much interested. It was very natural then that Dr. Rush felt the importance of acquainting the American nation with its German citizenship in this year 1789.

The value of Dr. Rush's observations, and his qualifications as a historian of the Pennsylvania-Germans have, perhaps, not been appreciated to their full extent, and it may not be amiss to point them out.

In the first place Dr. Rush, throughout his life, was among, but not of, the German settlers. Born in the Welsh tract in an English settlement, the proximity of the Germans²² during his youth, and the fresh results of what he actually saw in his younger days, in the midst of a rural community, enabled him to become acquainted with them in the most unvarnished aspects of their existence. Hence when Dr. Rush speaks of the qualities of the Germans as farmers, we can be assured that his observations are born out of actual experience, and are

²² We have his testimony as to his familiarity with the German language, combined with what must have been an appreciation of the German religious character. In his diary, during the voyage on his return to America after he, as a young man, had completed his studies in Europe, he says, "My friend Mr. Dysert offered to teach me the German language. For this purpose he put a grammar and German dictionary into my hands. By reading the grammar over I became acquainted with the principles and construction of the language. A German steerage passenger furnished me with a Bible in which I read constantly so that in the course of a few weeks I began to understand what I read with but little aid from a translation or a dictionary."—*Autobiography*, in the *Memorial of Rush*, p. 52.

not of the nature of eulogy. We happen to know that Dr. Rush himself was not a stranger in the harvest field. In recounting the days he spent at Dr. Biddle's school, he says: "All his scholars shared in the labors of harvest and haymaking. I bear on one of my fingers to this day the mark of a severe cut I received in learning to reap."²³

In the second place Dr. Rush's respect for good family stock and his recognition of the sterling worth of an ancestry and of the value of the character of his own forefathers, though in humble apparel and of humble occupation, would enable him to appreciate the merit of similar characteristics in the primitive Germans. In his letter to John Adams on July 13, 1812, he says: "Had any or all of my ancestors appeared before me, in their homespun or working dresses (for they were all farmers or mechanics), they would probably have looked at one another, and said, 'What means that gentleman by thus intruding upon us?' Dear and venerable friends! be not offended at me. I inherit your blood, and I bear the name of most of you. I came here to claim affinity with you, and to do homage to your Christian and moral virtues. It is true, my dress indicates that I move in a different sphere from that in which you have passed through life; but I have acquired and received nothing from the world which I prize so highly as the religious principles which I inherited from you, and I possess nothing that I value so much as the innocence and purity of your characters."

On this letter, Viator, writing on July 4, 1832, makes the following comment: "There is a piety in it—an ardor of feeling and an attachment for the long buried

²³ *Autobiography*, in the *Memorial of Rush*, p. 14.

dead—a clinging to the trees that had been planted by the hands long moulded into dust—and an enthusiasm, though stilled by the holiness of the object, which testify the genuineness of the heart's feelings, and give character to him who cherished them. . . . No wonder Rush is immortal. A man that gives proof of such a heart as his can never die."^{23a}

In the third place it must not be forgotten that Dr. Rush's observations on the Germans are of unusual value because they were those of a cultured eye witness, who thoroughly knew the people at a sufficiently early date, to enable him to say exactly what they were in their original condition. Dr. Rush was born only three years after Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg first set his foot on American soil, and during the French and Indian War he was an active lad of from twelve to sixteen years of age. He was therefore still in time to have a personal knowledge of the nature and habits of the original immigrants, and also to be able to observe how those same qualities were transformed in the first and second generations of American-born descendants, with the bulk of whom he was a contemporary. The value of such contemporary witness, from the pen of a cultured English writer, cannot be overestimated.

In the fourth place, his life as a medical student in Europe, both in Paris and also in Scotland, gave a setting and a horizon to his estimates of human nature which eliminated all merely local perspectives, and which would be more than ordinarily just and true in reflecting any field of human nature upon which his attention was focused.

In the fifth place the active period of his professional life and work covered the time when Philadelphia, where

^{23a} *Autobiography of Rush*, Biddle, pp. 5, 6.

he lived, was the capital of the United States, and when the stirring scenes of Revolutionary days brought out in heightened contrast with each other the various racial qualities of the descendants of the immigrants to this province of William Penn.

To this must be added the fact that Dr. Rush was in continuous contact, professional and intellectual, with the German population of Philadelphia, which formed so large a proportion of the city's total population in those earlier days, and that just as he had been able to estimate the Germans in his younger days, so he was now having an experience extending over many years with the artisans and the professional men who went to the making up of the German community in Philadelphia.

He was on terms of personal intimacy with Dr. Helmut, the pastor of the large German Lutheran congregation in Philadelphia, and from allusions in his diary we are able to infer that he probably enjoyed a large practice among the parishioners of this flock. He was particularly intimate with Christopher Ludwick, the German philanthropist whose memoir he has written,²⁴ and whom we suspect he visited frequently, perhaps as a physician, and whom he may possibly have influenced to some extent to the decision to bequeath his estate for educational purposes. In his memoir of Ludwick he says: "Most of the incidents which are to compose the following memoir, were obtained from Mr. Ludwick, by a person who often visited him in the evening of his life. Such of them as were not obtained from that source, were communicated by his family." In

²⁴ *An Account of the Life and Character of Christopher Ludwick*, late citizen of Philadelphia, and Baker-General of the Army of the United States during the Revolutionary War. By

fact, he was a neighbor of Ludwick's,^{24a} and was able to observe his life at close range to such an extent that he could say of Ludwick: "He was much esteemed by all who did business with him, for his integrity and punctuality, and for his disposition to do kind offices. His neighbours treated him with so much respect, that he acquired among them the title of 'The Governor of Laetitia Court.'"^{24b}

But the crowning qualification of Dr. Rush, in his testimony on behalf of the Pennsylvania-Germans, is the fact that he was a physician, and that he was therefore accustomed to the investigation of facts as they are,²⁵ and to

Benjamin Rush, M.D. First published in the year 1801. Revised and republished by direction of the Philadelphia Society for the establishment and support of charity schools. To which is added an account of the Origin, Progress, and Present Condition of that Institution. Philadelphia: Printed for the Society by Garden and Thompson. 1831.

^{24a} Dr. Rush lived on Front St. near Walnut, and again on Fourth St. opposite Willing's Alley, in the house, formerly, of Chief Justice Shippen.

^{24b} Rush, *Life of Christopher Ludwick*, p. 9.

²⁵ The mind of Prof. Rush was characterized by a manly independence.—Staughton, *An Eulogium*, p. 16.

He is always concerned with the matter in hand rather than with the manner of presenting it.—Wilson, *An Address*.

From the result of his individual experience and observation, he established more principles, and added more facts to the science of medicine than all who preceded him in his native land. Dr. Lieber edition of the *Encyclopedia Americana*, quoted by Mitchell, p. 12.

But the best testimony on this point is the language of Rush himself in his *Eulogy on Cullen*:

He says: "Facts are the morality of medicine; they are the same in all countries and throughout all times."

the placing of them on record in the interests of the truth alone, and without the interweaving of any imaginary,²⁶ legendary, or emotional elements.²⁷ There is no class of educated men, as a rule, who are so constantly obliged to disentangle a grain of truth from a whole tissue of falsehood, by a searching catechetical process, as are physicians, in their efforts to get at the exact facts in the case. They perhaps learn to understand human nature at its average more thoroughly than any other professional class. It has been said that the minister sees people on their best side, the lawyer sees them on their worst side, and the doctor sees them as they really are. And we may be very certain, from our knowledge of the method which Dr. Rush pursued in all his investigations,²⁸ and from the attainments which were characteristic of all his literary work, that what he has recorded in this essay is historical testimony of the highest value.²⁹

²⁶ "I have been as little disposed to superstition as most men, and have often exposed the folly of being influenced by dreams, by explaining their cause by obvious physical principles."—*Autobiography*, in the *Memorial of Rush*, p. 60.

²⁷ His fancy was excursive, but his judgment sedate.—Staughton, *An Eulogium*, p. 19.

In the highest sense a man of affairs and a scholar.—Wilson, *An Address in 1904*.

²⁸ Dr. Rush translated the aphorisms of Hippocrates from the Greek into his vernacular tongue, in the seventeenth year of his age. From this early exercise he probably derived that talent of investigation, that spirit of inquiry, and those extensive views of the nature and causes of disease, which give value to his writings, and have added important benefits to the science of medicine.—Hasock, *To the Memory of Rush*, p. 26.

²⁹ His eyes and ears were open to see, hear, and profit by every occurrence.—Ramsay, *An Eulogium*, p. 99.

“ ‘His name,’ says Dr. Thomas Young, ‘was familiar to the medical world as the Sydenham of America. His accurate observations and correct discrimination of epidemic diseases well entitled him to this distinction, while in the original energy of his reasoning he far exceeded his prototype.’³⁰ He was a member of nearly every medical, literary and benevolent institution in this country, and of many foreign societies. He taught more clearly than any other physician of his day, how to distinguish diseases and their effects.

“Much of his influence and success was due to his method and regularity of life on the Franklin model. During the thirty years that he attended the Pennsylvania Hospital as physician he is said never to have missed his daily visit and never to have been more than ten minutes late. He was a systematic early riser, and his leisure at the end of the day³¹ was spent in reading poetry, history, the moral sciences, and the like, with his pen always in his hand.”³²

³⁰ Rush said: “Medicine without principles is an humble art and a degrading occupation.”—Ramsay, *An Eulogium*, p. 98.

³¹ “While my days were thus employed in business, my evenings were devoted to study. I seldom went to bed before twelve o’clock, and many, many times have I heard the watchman cry three o’clock, before I put out my candle. I recollect when I began to feel languid or sleepy at late or early hours, I used to excite my mind by increasing the heat and blaze of my fire in winter, or by exposing myself a few minutes in a balcony which projected over Water street, from my back parlour in Front street near Walnut, where I resided till the year 1780, after living but a few months in the house in which I first settled.”—*Autobiography*, in the *Memorial of Rush*, p. 59.

³² One of his mottoes was, “*Studium sine calamo somnium.*”

Rush's writings cover an immense range of subjects, including linguistic, physiological, moral, sociological and historical fields. His last work was an elaborate treatise on the "Diseases of the Mind," 1812. He is best known now by the five volumes of "Medical Inquiries and Observations" which he brought out at intervals from 1789 to 1798 (two later editions revised by the author). He became well known in Europe as an author on the epidemic of yellow fever and was elected an honorary member of several foreign societies.³³ His Medical Inquiries and Observations are in five volumes. His "Essays, Literary, Moral and Philosophical by Benj. Rush, M.D., Thomas and Samuel Bradford, 1798, second edition, 1806; Sixteen Introductory Lectures, 1811," treat all the great subjects of his day and are notable for their close observation, mature thought, and sound reasoning. Among them is to be found his Account of the Germans in Pennsylvania.³⁴

That Dr. Rush did not lose his interest in the Germans of Pennsylvania is shown by an essay already alluded to first published in 1801 entitled, *An Account of the Life and Character of Christopher Ludwick*, by Benj. Rush, M.D.

³³ For further information, see Eulogy of Hasock, Essays I, New York, 1824. See References in the works of Thacker, Gross, Bowditch on the history of Medicine in America.

For a fuller statement of his medical positions, see Wilson, p. 7.

³⁴ The text of *The Account* reproduced in this volume is that of the original "Essays"; not that of Rupp's Reprint of 1875, the facsimile of which is reproduced on page 21.



II. THE TITLE, AND THE ESSAY.



IN looking at the title of his essay, it is worthy of notice, first of all, that Rush calls it simply "An Account." Without any thought of grandiloquence, he is simply intent upon setting down a record. The title he chose, beyond any other single characteristic, implies exactitude. It reveals to us that the state-

ments which he is making appeared to him as a description of exact facts, into which he has looked, and which he is able to verify. The term "Account," taken from the mercantile world, and involving columns of debits and credits, of receipts and expenditures, and combination of methodical enumeration,³⁵ assures us, for purposes of testimony, of greater reliability and exactness, when used by

³⁵ Dr. Rush was an experienced 'accountant,' and used this word advisedly in the title: "I took the exclusive charge of his [Dr. Redman's] *books and accounts*."—*Autobiography, in the Memorial of Rush*, p. 19.

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMANS.



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Benj Franklin

MINIATURE PAINTED BY THOURON, PARIS, 1782.

ORIGINAL IN COLLECTION OF JULIUS F. SACHSE.

an honest writer, than would any more formidable term.

When Dr. Rush tells us that he proposes to present to our eye "An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania," it is to be borne in mind that the word 'Manners,' now rarely in vogue, was weighted with a meaning in the eighteenth century, which has been worn away in our modern day. The motto of the University of Pennsylvania which asserts that "Letters without Manners are Light and Empty" is an illustration in point. In truth, Dr. Rush says scarcely one word of the personal manners and social etiquette of the people of whom he is writing, and, so simple, unaffected, and earnest, and often blunt, were the manners of the German forefathers, that if used in the merely popular sense, to express a high and hereditary social culture, Rush's title would become a parody on the people whom it was intended to praise.

But the word "manners" has a more substantial sense. It comes to us from the Latin word *manus*, the hand, through the Old French verb *manier* which means to handle, to manage, to wield, and refers to activity and conduct in all the more serious affairs of life. Thoreau has said that "It is the vice of manners that they are continually being deserted by the character; they are cast-off clothes or shells, claiming the respect which belonged to the living creature." It is not of these outer shells of character, but of the active character itself, as shown in their views of life, their ways of doing things, their ideas of management, their deeply ingrained and traditional life-customs, their thoughts and feelings of home, God, business, education, and the other great *verities*, of which Dr. Rush wrote an account.

At the close of the eighteenth century, when the life of our commonwealth was new and young, Dr. Rush termed the people whom we call Pennsylvania-Germans, "the German inhabitants of Pennsylvania," for obvious reasons. In referring to the newer states in our great Northwest we still speak of the German, the Scandinavian, and the Danish immigrant. Dr. Rush called the Germans, of whom he was about to give an account, "inhabitants" and not "immigrants," because their life had already reached a fixity. They were integral parts of the community. They were here to stay and constituted a very large part of the colony. But they were still "Germans" either of the first or original, or of the second, and in some cases of the third generation; they were not yet "Pennsylvania-Germans," for this compound term implies a double determining factor in the stock of the people, in which the part that "Pennsylvania" has played is as important in its way as is the original German element.

Dr. Rush might have used the term "citizens," instead of "inhabitants," as giving a more honorable and definite political and national quality to the blood of our German forefathers, but we believe that the term "inhabitants" was chosen because the book is somewhat in the form of a geographical description, rather than of a historical or political treatise; and as a matter of fact, and curiously enough, in the very first sentence of his essay Dr. Rush makes the fullest possible amends for the use, in the title, of the word "inhabitants" by actually calling the people "German citizens," and by ascribing a large part of the prosperity and reputation of the state to their citizenship. He says: "The State of Pennsylvania is so much indebted for her prosperity and reputation to *the German part of her citizens* that a short Account of their Manners may, perhaps, be useful

and agreeable to their fellow-citizens in every part of the United States." He thus records the Germans in Pennsylvania as being already at that date of an honorable and established citizenship, and worthy of an English treatise, which should draw the favorable attention of "their fellow-citizens in every part of the United States."

THE ESSAY.

In coming to analyze the Essay itself, we notice that it is composed of only about 6,700 words, and the whole production would easily go into eight or nine columns of any of our morning papers. After a brief introduction devoted to the original immigrants, narrating from whence in Germany, and under what situation, they came to America; and taking pains to describe to us, that, though they brought little property, they had, in addition to a few pieces of silver or gold and a chest with clothes, "a Bible and Prayer or Hymn Book;" that they paid for their own passage across the sea, many after the manner of the redemptioner; and that "*a clergyman always accompanied them when they came in large bodies;*"³⁶ he tells of their occupations and trades.

He then proceeds to dwell at length upon the German farmers, and presents no less than sixteen characteristics in numerical order, prefacing these characteristics with a brief eulogy on their industry, frugality, and skill, and with the declaration that the farm of a German could be distin-

³⁶ One of his biographers informs us that throughout the extensive practice of a life time Dr. Rush never shut out a clergyman from the visitation of a sick patient.

"It was well known in Philadelphia that Dr. Rush more frequently attended public worship, than, perhaps any other physician."—Mitchell, p. 18.

guished from that of other settlers in Pennsylvania "by good fences, the extent of orchards, the fertility of the soil, the productiveness of the fields, the luxuriance of the meadows."

The first of the agricultural points enumerated by Dr. Rush, relates to the management and to the buildings of the Germans, the second to their ability to choose good land and to their enhancement of its value, the third to their thorough clearing of the land. "They do not girdle or belt the trees simply or leave them to perish in the ground as is the custom of their English or Irish neighbors." He speaks in the fourth place of their good feeding of cattle, in the fifth place of their well-built fences, in the sixth place of their conservation of natural resources, a vital fact to which the American nation is only now, a century and a half later, beginning to awake, as a nation. He thinks of the fact also that despite their economy, "their houses are rendered so comfortable at all times . . . that twice the business is done by every branch of the family as that is done in houses where every member of the family crowds near a common fire place or shivers at a distance from it."

He notes in the seventh place the care and attention given to their live-stock. In the eighth place he speaks of their personal household habits and their food. While he mentions that it has been thought, by reason of their sparing use of animal food, "that they decline in strength sooner than their English or Irish neighbors," he goes on to say that "very few of them used distilled spirits in their families." He approves of their use of light feather beds instead of blankets, and he refers to the home-spun apparel of the farmers, adding, "When they use European articles of dress, they prefer those of the best quality and of the

highest prices. They are afraid of debt and seldom purchase anything without paying cash for it." In the ninth place, Dr. Rush refers to the large gardens of the Pennsylvania Germans, and he goes so far as to say that "Pennsylvania is indebted to the Germans for *the principal part of her knowledge in horticulture.*"

He notes in the tenth place that the work on the farms is done by members of the family rather than by servants; that the travel is by large strong wagons; and, in the twelfth place that the German inhabitants love and rejoice in many children. "Happy state of human society!" exclaims he. "The joy of parents upon the birth of a child is the grateful echo of creating goodness!" exclaims he. "May the mountains of Pennsylvania be forever filled with songs of joy upon these occasions!" exclaims he. And he adds, "They will be the infallible signs of industry, wealth and happiness in the State."

In the thirteenth place Dr. Rush points to the fact that the Germans in Pennsylvania (exemplifying what was to be John Ruskin's strong Saxon ideal of work and labor³⁷),

³⁷ Ruskin says, "To succeed to my own satisfaction in a manual piece of work, is life, to me, as to all men."—*Fors*, II., p. 306.

"The beginning of all good law, and nearly the end of it, is in these two ordinances: That every man shall do good work for his bread; and secondly, That every man shall have good bread for his work."—*Fors*, I., p. 141.

"A happy nation may be defined as one in which the husband's hand is on the plough, and the housewife's on the needle; so in due time reaping its golden harvest, and shining in golden vesture: and an unhappy nation is one which, acknowledging no use of plough nor needle, will assuredly at last find its storehouse empty in the famine, and its breast naked to the cold."—*The Two Paths*, p. 121.

take great pains to train their children not merely *in habits* of labor, but *into a love* of it. "They instil a fear of God³⁸ and a love of work." Says he, "They prefer industrious habits to money itself."

In the fourteenth place Dr. Rush draws attention approvingly to the value the Germans set upon patrimony. In the fifteenth place he speaks of their superstition in planting trees in accordance with the appearance of the moon, and intimates that the influence of the moon upon the earth may after all be a scientific fact rather than a superstition. In the sixteenth place, he tells us that plenty and neatness in everything that "belonged to them" distinguished the German farms "from the farms of the other citizens of the State."

Passing now from the German farmer to the mechanic, he emphasizes first of all the desire of every German mechanic to become a freeholder, and secondly the German mechanic's knowledge of both the European and the newer and more distinctively American mechanical arts.

Of the merchants, he shows that they are candid and punctual, and makes the following statement, "The Bank of North America has witnessed from its first institution their fidelity to all their pecuniary engagements." These are the words of a man who was Treasurer of the United States Mint to the day of his death.

After describing their agricultural and mechanical life,

³⁸ In the letter to John Adams, late President of the United States, the original of which was in the hand of Dr. Hasock, Dr. Rush wrote concerning his parents: "I have acquired and received nothing from the world which I prize so highly as the religious principles I inherited from them; and I possess nothing that I value so much as the innocence and purity of their characters."—Hasock, *To the Memory of Rush*, p. 24.

Dr. Rush proceeds to give the result of his observations on their religious, educational, political, social, and ecclesiastical life; and as to their value, as an asset, to the commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Perhaps the most remarkable of all the statements that he makes in this essay, and the tribute than which no greater could be paid to any people, is the one in which he connects their good character and citizenship in later life, directly with their earlier religious and educational training. He says: "All the different sects among them are particularly attentive to the religious education of their children, and to the establishment and support of the Christian Religion. For this purpose they settle as much as possible, together, and make the erection of a school-house, and a place of worship, the first object of their care. They commit the education and instruction of their children, in a peculiar manner, to the ministers and officers of their churches; hence they grow up with *biases* in favor of public worship, and of the obligations of Christianity. Such has been the influence of a pious education among the *Germans*, in Pennsylvania, that in the course of nineteen years, only *one* of them, has ever been brought to a place of public shame or punishment."

Writers of English blood, from Benjamin Franklin down to John Fiske, and others in Pennsylvania, who, whether from prejudice or because they have accepted the vulgar traditions afloat in American literature, as to the low character and the ignorance of a people which the English immigrants did not understand,^{38a} would have to go very far among their own people to match a record such as this.

^{38a} The English people has always been dull and slow in its comprehension of the German genius and character. "English authors did not discover Germany until 1780, and not until William

Of their political life, Dr. Rush says they are peaceable, prompt in payment of taxes, and loyal. In their social life he emphasizes their hospitality as genuine and free from avariciousness, their willingness to lend money to those who prove themselves to be trustworthy, and their excellence in vocal and instrumental music.

That Dr. Rush has not closed his eyes to the limited culture of the German forefathers, is to be seen from his remarks as to their superstitions, their ignorance of the forms of English law, and their trust in quack doctors; but he also testifies to their thoughtfulness and intelligence in their own language since they maintain a large number of German newspapers circulated throughout the state; and he says definitely, "There is scarcely an instance of a German of either sex in Pennsylvania that cannot *read*; but many of the wives and daughters of the German farmers cannot *write*."³⁹ He speaks with approval of the learned sons of the Germans, rising in his generation, and of the new German college in Pennsylvania.⁴⁰

After devoting a large part of his essay to explaining the ecclesiastical and social peculiarities of the German

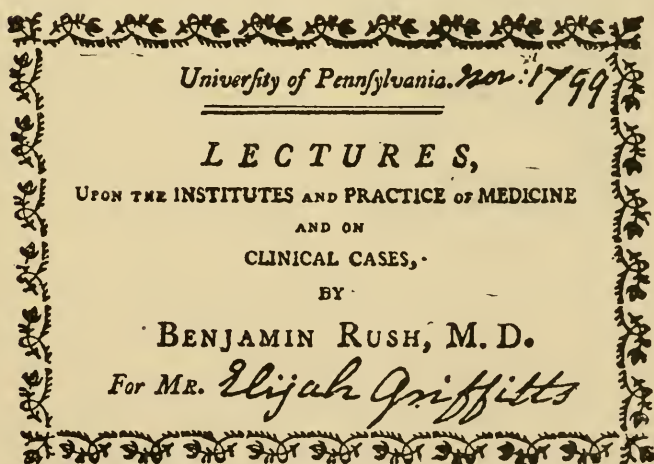
Taylor had translated many German literary works, and the poets, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Walter Scott, and subsequently Thomas Carlyle, beat a trail into the 'kingdom of the mind.'"—Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, II., p. 209.

³⁹ As a whole they were not opposed to education . . . and established schools from the earliest date. Michael Schlatter and Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the leaders of the Reformed and Lutheran Germans, were in favor of the higher education.—Barr Ferree, *Pennsylvania: A Primer*, 1904.

⁴⁰ Franklin and Marshall College at Lancaster, Pa. Dr. Rush was greatly interested in the founding of Dickinson College at Carlisle, Pa.

bodies settled in the state, he again reverts to the value of the Germans as citizens of this commonwealth, and to the results of a single generation of their toil in the midst of freedom: "If it were possible to determine the amount of all the property brought into Pennsylvania, by the present German inhabitants of the state, and their ancestors, and then compare it with the present amount of their property, the contrast would form such a monument of human industry and economy, as has seldom been contemplated in any age or country."

Reminding his readers of the strength of the early Germanic character as portrayed on the pages of ancient history, our author closes this remarkable essay by pointing out what the whole country in his own day might learn from the German in Pennsylvania.





AN ACCOUNT OF THE MANNERS OF THE GERMAN INHABITANTS OF PENNSYLVANIA.



THE State of Pennsylvania¹ is so much indebted

¹ Pennsylvania was discovered by the Swedes and the Dutch, owned by the English, and preferred as a paradise for migration by the Germans. The Germans hastened hither from New York, which bitter experience had taught them to shun, and from the Fatherland.

“ Not satisfied with being themselves removed from New York, they wrote to their friends and relatives, if ever they intended to come to America, not to go to New York. This advice had such influence that the Germans, who afterwards went in such numbers to America, constantly avoided New York and went to Pennsylvania. It sometimes happened that they were forced to take ships bound for New York, but they were scarce got on shore when they hastened to Pennsylvania, *in sight of all the in-*

for her prosperity² and reputation,³ to the German part⁴ of her citizens, that a short account of their

habitants of New York."—Peter Kalm, the Swedish naturalist and traveler, v. *Penn. Hist. Mag.*, X., 388.

"We are daily expecting ships from London, which bring over Palatines, in number about six or seven thousand. We had a parcel who came out about five years ago, and proved quiet and industrious."—James Logan.

² Pennsylvania took the lead of all the colonial states in agriculture, because of the many German settlers. In 1751, there were exported 86,000 bushels of wheat, 129,960 barrels of flour, 90,743 bushels of Indian corn. The total exports of 1751, exceeded in value, one million of dollars.—I. D. Rupp.

Lieutenant Governor George Thomas, in 1738, while addressing the Council on some action proposed in restriction of immigration declared: "This Province has been for some years the asylum of the distressed Protestants of the Palatinate and other parts of Germany, and I believe it may with truth be said, that the present flourishing condition of it is in a great measure owing to the industry of those people; and should any discouragement divert them from coming hither, it may well be apprehended that the value of your lands will fall, and your advance to wealth be much slower."—*Penn. Col. Records*, III., 315.

³ The reputation of the German element in Pennsylvania for industry, thrift and piety caused Mortimer, *History of England*, III., 233, to write: "Pennsylvania is since become by far the most populous and flourishing colony for its standing of any in British America."

⁴ THE GERMAN POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE.

The German part of Pennsylvania was its large part. Barr Ferree, *Primer of Pennsylvania*, p. 92, says that the Germans "formed a large proportion of the population of Pennsylvania,

manners⁵ may, perhaps, be useful and agreeable to their fellow citizens in every part of the United States.

estimated at from one-half to one-third in the provincial period." Governor Thomas estimated the Germans as constituting about three-fifths of the population. We may say that there were 20,000 Germans in Pennsylvania before 1727, the year in which migration became extensive. To these we may add 18,000 more up to 1742. By the end of 1748, 6,000 more had arrived. Between 1749 and 1754 nearly 32,000 arrived through the port of Philadelphia. Nine or ten thousand more arrived through the same port prior to the Revolution. In 1759 Dr. William Smith tells the Archbishop of Canterbury that a little more than one-fifth of the 250,000 souls in Pennsylvania are Germans. This is too low an estimate and it is commonly supposed that the Germans, prior to the Revolutionary War, constituted at least one-third of the entire population. Such is Benjamin Franklin's estimate, who in 1776 testified before a committee of the British House of Commons that of the 160,000 whites in the Province of Pennsylvania about one-third were Germans.

In this testimony Franklin described the Germans as "a people who brought with them the greatest of all wealth,—industry and integrity and character that had been superpoised and developed by years of suffering and persecution."—*Penn. Hist. Mag.*, IV., 3.

The *Hallesche Nachrichten*, I., 411, makes possible an estimate of Lutheran and Reformed in Pennsylvania at ninety thousand in 1748. Kuhns estimates the number of Germans in Pennsylvania in 1775 as nearly ninety thousand, and adds twenty thousand for the natural increase. Faust also places the number of Germans and German descendants in 1775 at one hundred and ten thousand, and in 1790 at sixty thousand. See Schmauk, *The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 28; Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, I., 128, 282; II., 12-27.

⁵ See Introduction, for a discussion of Dr. Rush's use of this term.

The aged Germans,⁶ and the ancestors of those who are young, migrated⁷ chiefly from the Palatinate;⁸ from Alsace,⁹ Swabia,¹⁰ Saxony,¹¹ and

⁶ The original immigrants.

⁷ See *The German Emigration to America, 1709-1740*, by Henry Eyster Jacobs, *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, Vol. VIII. Also, *The Emigration from New York Province into Pennsylvania*, by Mathias Henry Richards, *Proceedings of Pennsylvania-German Society*, Vol. IX.

⁸ The Pilgrim Fathers were not the only company who sought in this western world "Freedom to worship God." The fact is that, if ever a body of emigrants came to America from under the hand of the oppressor, such were these Palatines; and if ever the thought of religious liberty constrained men to leave their native land for hoped-for freedom in America, such hope was powerful with these children of the Palatinate. Hence it is, that the story of their coming hither, with the bitterness and pathos of their antecedent suffering and endurance, and the sturdiness of their unconquerable faith and determination to wrest fortune and happiness out of the very talons of despair, is one that should be better known to the student of American history.—Cobb, *The Story of the Palatines*, pp. 12, 13.

For the history of this great deportation, see Diffenderffer, "*The German Emigration into Pennsylvania through the Port of Philadelphia*," *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, Vol. X.

⁹ A good sprinkling of settlers from Alsace were found early in parts of Berks and Lehigh Counties, many of them with names originally French.

¹⁰ The Wuertembergers came over later than the Palatines, in large and steady influx.

¹¹ See Pennypacker, *Crefeld*, *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, Vol. IX.

Switzerland;¹² but natives of every principality and dukedom of Germany¹³ are to be found¹⁴ in different parts of the state. They brought¹⁵ but little property¹⁶ with them. A few pieces of

¹² See Rupp, *Swiss Immigrants in Pennsylvania, 1727-1776*. Harrisburg, 1856, 2d ed., Phila., 1876; Kuhns, *The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania*; Gibbons, *Swiss Exiles*.

¹³ See Sachse, *The Fatherland: Showing the Part it Bore in the Discovery, Exploration and Development of the Western Continent with special reference to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, Vol. VII.

¹⁴ See Rupp, *Thirty Thousand Names*.

In the ship lists, the name Palatines is indiscriminately applied to all imported Germans into Pennsylvania, prior to 1741; afterwards, they are designated foreigners, inhabitants of the Palatinate, and places adjacent; Wittembergers, from Erbach, foreigners from Wittemberg, Alsace, and Zweibruecken: from Nassau, Hanau, Darmstadt, Alsatians, Eisenberg, Basal, Swabia, Mannheim, Durlach, Rittenheim: inhabitants of Lorraine, Mentz, Franconia, Hesse, Hamburg, Saxony. After 1754, principalities, the dukedoms, districts, places or towns, are not designated in the ship lists.—I. D. Rupp.

¹⁵ See Gottlieb Mittelberger, *Reise nach Pennsylvanien*, im Jahr 1750. Frankfuhr und Leipzig, 1756.

¹⁶ Many who at home had owned property, and converted it into money, were robbed in transitu, by ship owners, importers, sea captains, and *Neulaender*. The emigrants' chests, with their clothes, and sometimes their money, were put on other vessels or ships, and left behind. These chests were rifled of their contents. The German immigrants thus treated, on their arrival at Philadelphia, were obliged to submit to being sold as *Loskaeuflinge*, *Redemptioners*, they and their children, to pay their passage money. In not a few cases, persons, who still had means, were

gold or silver coin,¹⁷ a chest filled with clothes, a bible, and a prayer or an hymn book¹⁸ constituted

held responsible to pay the passage for the poorer. This was the practice for more than fifty years. In this way, persons of substance were necessitated, and did become, very frequently, common beggars. *Col. Rec.*, IV., 586; *Penna. Arch.*, IV., 472; *Gordon's History of Penna.*, p. 300.—I. D. Rupp.

¹⁷ These pieces of coin were often kept for many years, against the last emergency, and, at times, were highly prized as family pieces because of their history. Dr. Rush himself, in his *Life of Christopher Ludwick*, p. 28, alludes to a coin of this kind. He says: "In every stage and situation of life, Mr. Ludwick appeared to be, more or less, under the influence of the doctrines and precepts of Christianity. Part of this influence, it has been said, was derived from his education. . . . His father inherited a piece of silver of the size of a French crown, . . . with the following words in its exergue, 'The blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin.' I John 1: 7. . . . This piece of silver Mr. Ludwick carried in his pocket, in all his voyages and travels in Europe, Asia and America. It was closely associated in his mind, with the respect and affection he bore for his ancestors, and with a belief of his interest in the blessings of the Gospel. In looking at it in all his difficulties and dangers, he found animation and courage. In order to insure its safety . . . he had it fixed . . . in the lid of a silver tankard, . . . and under it the following motto: 'May the religion, industry and courage of a German parent, be the inheritance of his issue.'"

¹⁸ BOOKS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS.

They brought with them copies of the *Bible*, *hymn-book*, *prayer-book*, *catechism*, *sermon-book* and other devotional books. Court Chaplain Boehm, of London, rendered an important service to immigrants sent from England to America by securing for them copies of Arndt's *Wahres Christenthum*. Starke's *Gebet Buch* was also used by many settlers. . . . Religious

the whole stock of most of them. Many of them bound¹⁹ themselves, or one or more of their chil-

books were imported from the Fatherland. . . . German religious books were published in this country at a very early day. In 1708 Justus Falkner published the first book of a Lutheran minister printed in America. . . . In 1728 appeared *Das Büchlein vom Sabbath*, and *Neun und neunzig mystische Sprüche*, by Conrad Beissel. *Hymn-books* were printed in 1730, 1732, 1739, 1742, and the Bible in 1743, Luther's *Catechism* annotated by Zinzendorf in 1744, the *New Testament* in 1745, the *Psalter* in 1746, the *Martyrer-Spiegel* in 1748, Arndt's *Wahres Christenthum* in 1751, etc.—Schantz, *Domestic Piety and Religion, Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, X., pp. 39-50.

On May 9, 1753, Benjamin Franklin said of the Germans: "They import many books from Germany, and of the six printing houses in the Province, two are entirely German, two half German and half English, and two are entirely English."—Sparks, *Works of Franklin*, VII., p. 71.

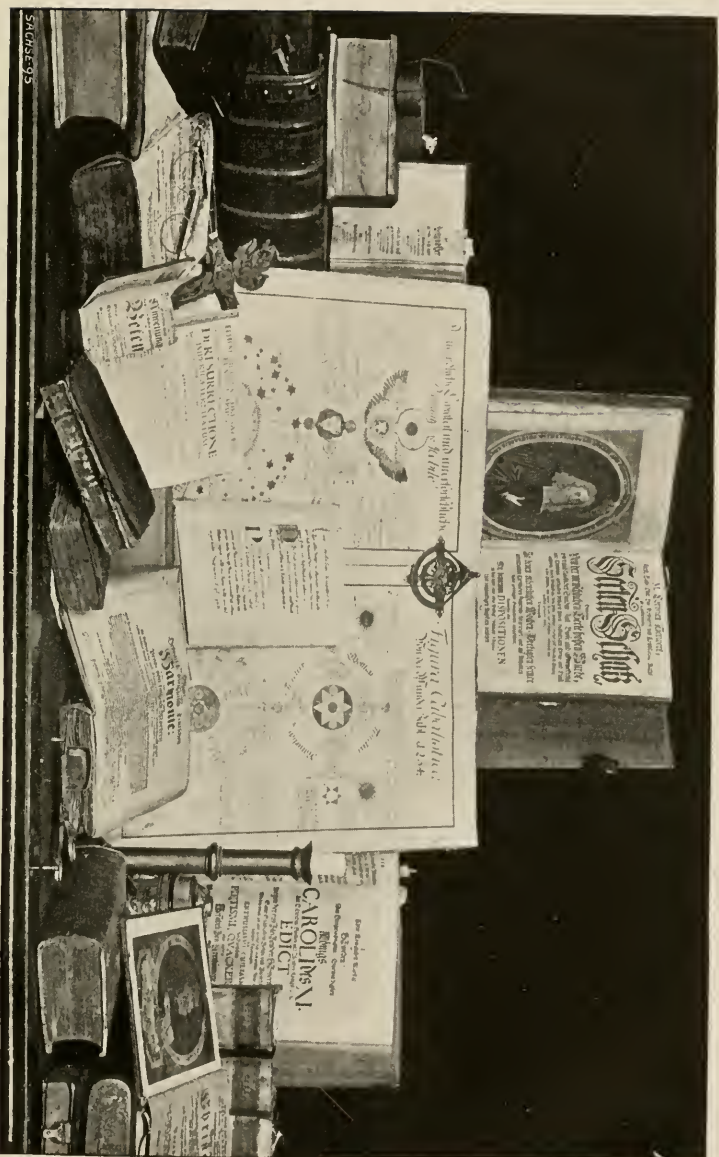
The Dunkers in Germany raised by subscription a sum of money to purchase religious books and disperse them among their poor friends in Pennsylvania, and sent over the printing press afterward used so effectively by Christopher Saur.

For the extensive publication enterprises of the Germans in Pennsylvania, see, Seidensticker, *The First Century of German Printing in America*, also Hildebrand, and supplementary information by Stapleton, and others.

¹⁹ Prior to 1727, most of the Germans came in companies, or were persons of means. "In the years 1728, '29, '37, '41, '50 and '51, large numbers of Redemptioners, or those who bound themselves, came to Pennsylvania."—Loeher, p. 80.

The usual terms of sale depended somewhat on the age, strength and health of the persons sold. Boys and girls usually had to serve from five to ten years, till they attained the age of twenty-one. Many parents were necessitated, as they had been wont at

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMANS.



BOOKS BROUGHT TO AMERICA BY THE GERMAN PIETISTS CONTEMPORARY WITH WILLIAM PENN, AND ILLUSTRATING THE
LEARNING AND LITERARY CULTURE OF THE EARLY PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS.

IN POSSESSION OF JULIUS F. SACHSE, LITT. D.

dren, to masters after their arrival, for four, five, or seven years, in order to pay for their passages across the ocean.²⁰ A clergyman²¹ always accompanied them when they came in large bodies.

home to do with their cattle, to *sell their own children*. The children had to assume the passage money, both their own, and that of their parents, in order that the latter might be released from the ship. Children under five years of age could not be sold. They were disposed of gratuitously to such persons as agreed to raise them, and let them go free when they attained the age of twenty-one.

It was an humble position that Redemptioners occupied. "Yet," says Gordon, "from this class have sprung some of the most reputable and wealthy inhabitants of this province."—Gordon, *His. Pa.*, p. 556.—I. D. Rupp.

For an extensive description of the *Neulaender* and the arrival of the Redemptioners, together with the work of the German Society in Philadelphia, see note in *Hallesche Nachrichten*, II., pp. 459–461, 709. See also, I., pp. 273, 515, 675, 700.

For material concerning the Redemptioners see Mittelberger, *Reise nach Pennsylvanien*; Rupp, *Thirty Thousand Names*; Diefenderffer, *The Redemptioners, Proceedings of Pennsylvania-German Society*, X., 5–315; *Record of Individuals Bound out as Apprentices, Servants, etc., and of the German and other Redemptioners in the Office of the Mayor in Philadelphia, October 3, 1771, to October 5, 1773, Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, XVI., pp. 1–325; Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, pp. 66–72.

²⁰ The journey across the ocean was a serious affair; and frequently undertaken under the spiritual guidance of the pastor. Thus the pioneer pastor Joshua Kocherthal, with the first of the Palatines, left his home at Landau in Germany with sixty-one persons, scarcely knowing whither to go, came to London in the spring of 1708, and sent a memorial to the Queen on behalf of

his "poor Lutherans, come hither from the lower Palatinate praying to be transferred to some of your Majesty's plantations in America; in number forty-one . . . being reduced to this miserable condition by the ravages committed by the French when they lost all they had."

Kocherthal again came over at the head of the emigration of 1710, and as pastor of the immigrants in all the Hudson settlements exercised the greatest influence, together with John Fred. Hager, of the Reformed faith, at whose marriage Kocherthal officiated.

When Muhlenberg, a generation later, crossed the sea to Charleston, in a voyage of 110 days on an emigrant vessel, we read that "the ship became a church, his fellow-passengers, the crew and several negro slaves, a mission field for this ambassador of the Cross. Although suffering exceedingly from sea sickness he is seen daily instructing in intellectual and spiritual things the children on board. Sunday after Sunday he preaches, in the morning German to the few Salzburgers on board, in the afternoon with blundering attempts at an English discourse, using Latin terms where his limited vocabulary failed him and having the captain put them into English. Every one was taken under his pastoral supervision. To the negroes especially he gave the kindest attention, endeavoring to plant in them the germs of religious knowledge. Excepting the few Salzburgers there was not one on board who could enter into his religious views and feelings or even afford him social companionship, yet he commanded by his Christian demeanor and official faithfulness the high personal esteem of the whole ship's company."—Wolf, pp. 244-245.

²¹ THE EARLY GERMAN CLERGYMEN IN THE PROVINCE.

The first clergymen to arrive in Pennsylvania were the Swedish pastors, the Rev. Reorus Torkillus in 1639; and the Rev. John Campanius, the translator of Luther's Catechism into English, antedating in actual use the Indian Bible of John Elliot, and who held services on Sundays and festival days, preached on Wednes-

days and Fridays, and conducted daily matins and vespers at Tinicum, nine miles southwest of Philadelphia, in 1646. The first German preacher in Pennsylvania was the Lutheran Jacobus Fabritius in 1671. Then came the settlers of Germantown, under Pastorius, their spiritual leader. A letter from Germantown, dated Feb. 12, 1684, probably written by Hermans Op den Graeff, says "One finds in Pennsylvania (excluding ourselves) Lutheran and Reformed. The former have two ministers. Their fruits, however, give testimony that they are teachers without the Spirit. At New Castle mostly Hollanders reside. The Reformed have no minister here at present. The Papists here hold no meetings." The chaplain of the band of Pietists, Henrich Bernard Köster, arrived in 1694, and held the first German Lutheran services in Germantown, and the first English services in Philadelphia. Then came the Mennonites, who were very religious. From 1700 and 1701, the Falckner brothers attempted to provide for the spiritual condition of the Lutherans in Pennsylvania, and in 1703 Justus Falckner became the first minister ordained in this Country. In 1710 the Dutch Reformed pastor, Paulus Van Vlecq, organized the White Marsh Church at Neshaminy. In the same year Samuel Guldin, a minister of the Reformed Church in Switzerland reached Pennsylvania. In 1717 the Rev. Gerhart Henkel arrived at Falckner Swamp and went forth as a circuit preacher into distant parts of the wilderness in southeastern Pennsylvania. In 1725 John Philip Boehm began his useful labors among the Reformed immigrants.

In September, 1727, the Rev. George Michael Weis came to Philadelphia with a company of about four hundred emigrants from the Palatinate; and, in September, 1728, the greatest of the pioneer pastors and organizer of churches, the Rev. John Caspar Stoeber, arrived. At the same time the Rev. John Peter Miller, a most learned man, and subsequently identified with the Ephrata community, and Conrad Beissel still earlier, were active in the regions of the Tulpehocken. Meantime the Moravian missionaries arrived, and a little over a decade later, Count Zinzendorf

The principal part of them were farmers;²² but there were many mechanics, who brought with them a knowledge of those arts²³ which are neces-

himself appeared in America. In 1742 Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the founder and organizer, arrived in America, the first of the long line of ministers sent out by Francke and the Halle Orphan House, to supply the immigrants in this country; and in 1746 Michael Schlatter arrived and occupied a similar position amid the Reformed emigrants. These clergymen were all learned men, and many of them university graduates.

²² "The Germans seem more adapted to agriculture and improvement of a wilderness; and the Irish, for trade. The Germans soon get estates in this country, where industry and economy are the chief requisites to procure them." *Proud's Hist. of Pa.*, II., 274. On this whole paragraph relating to agricultural and mechanical arts, see Schantz, *Domestic Life and Characteristics of the Pennsylvania-German Pioneer, Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, X, p. 5. See also forthcoming paper by Albert Rau, *Some Notes on Trades as Found among the Germans of Pennsylvania*.

²³ At the close of the term of apprenticeship, the young mechanic, before he was allowed to set up for himself, was obliged, according to the custom of Guilds and Trades, in Germany, to make his *Wanderschaft*, *Peregrination*, of one or more years, in order to perfect himself in his trade; and, he had to show some well finished piece of workmanship, before he could be promoted to the honor of master-workman, in any town, except where he was raised.

The *Wanderschaft* custom, if properly improved, afforded opportunities to acquire, besides a proficiency in their trade, much useful knowledge in general, which books alone could not supply. For the intention of this custom, was, that the *Handwerks-Bursch* (Travelling Journeyman) should gain experience in his craft, and learn methods practised in the countries, besides his own, as well as some knowledge of the world. It is nothing

sary and useful in all countries. These mechanics²⁴

unusual to meet, in Germany, with common mechanics, who speak three or four different languages, well informed as to the state of most of the countries of Europe, and possessing a general fund of knowledge, far superior to what is found in persons of the same class, in England. Murray, *Handbook*, p. 218, quoted by I. D. Rupp.

²⁴ Francis Daniel Pastorius, founder of Germantown, in a German letter written to Germany from Philadelphia as early as March 7, 1684, presents the following interesting picture of his company of immigrants to America: "Our company was made up of many kinds of people; there was a doctor of medicine, with his wife and eight children, a French captain, a Low Dutch cake-baker, an apothecary, a glass-blower, mason, smith, wheelwright, cabinetmaker, cooper, hatter, cobbler, tailor, gardener, husbandmen, seamstresses, etc., in all and sundry, eighty persons, besides the ship's crew. These differed not only in their ages (our oldest woman was 60 years old, while the youngest child was but twelve weeks old) and in their occupations just mentioned, but they were also of such different religions and ways of living, that I might not improperly compare the ship that brings them hither to the Ark of Noah, unless more unclean than clean (rational) beasts are contained therein. Among my domestics I have such as hold with Roman, the Lutheran, the Calvinistic, the Anabaptist and the Church of England, but only one Quaker." —Sachse, *Letters Relating to the Settlement of Germantown*, p. 11.

From the middle of April, 1709, to the middle of July, 1709, there arrived at London, 11,294 German Protestants—males and females. Male occupations: husbandmen and vine dressers, 1,838; bakers, 56; masons, 87; carpenters, 124; shoemakers, 68; tailors, 99; butchers, 29; millers, 45; tanners, 14; stocking weavers, 7; barbers, 6; locksmiths, 4; cloth and linen weavers, 95; coopers, 82; hunters, 7; saddlers, 13; glassblowers, 2; hatters, 3; lime-

were chiefly weavers, taylor, tanners, shoemakers, comb-makers, smiths of all kinds, butchers, paper-makers, watch makers, and sugar bakers.²⁵ I shall begin this account of the German inhabitants of Pennsylvania, by describing the manners of the German farmers.

This body of citizens are not only industrious²⁶ and frugal,²⁷ but skilful cultivators of the earth.

burners, 8; schoolmasters, 18; engravers, 2; bakers, 22; brick-makers, 3; silversmiths, 2; smiths, 35; herdsman, 3; blacksmiths, 48; potters, 3; turners, 6; silversmiths, 2; statuary, 1; surgeons, 2; masons, 39. Of the 11,294 emigrants, 2,556 had families.—Kapp, pp. 89, 90; *Frankfurter-Mess-Kalendar von Ostern bis Herbst*, 1709, pp. 90.—I. D. Rupp.

²⁵ In speaking of the sugar bakers it is quite possible that Dr. Rush had his friend Christopher Ludwick, the "Baker-General of the Army of the United States during the Revolutionary War," in mind. Though a mere craftsman, his early education in Germany is typical of the training these emigrants received. Dr. Rush says of him: "At fourteen years of age he was sent to a free school, where he was taught to read and write, and the common rules of arithmetic. He was carefully instructed at the same time, in the principles of the Christian religion as held by the Lutherans. Of this school he always retained a grateful remembrance."—Rush, *Life of Christopher Ludwick*, pp. 6, 7.

More than fifty persons had been taught reading, writing and arithmetic at his expense, in different schools in the city and its neighborhood. The principal part of his business for many years before he died, was to find out and relieve objects of distress.—Rush, *Life of Christopher Ludwick*, p. 22.

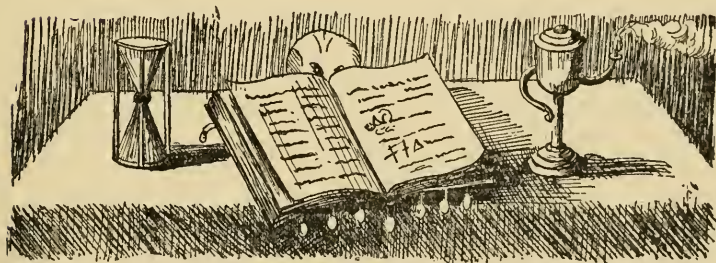
²⁶ For a picture of their industry, see W. J. Mann, "*Die Gute Alte Zeit*" in *Pennsylvanien*, Phila., Kohler, 1880.

²⁷ For an explanation and defense of this frugality, see Dr. George Mays, *The Early Pennsylvania-German Farmer*, *The*

I shall enumerate a few particulars, in which they differ²⁸ from most of the other farmers of Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania-German, October, 1901, pp. 186-188. Among other things, Dr. Mays says: "One of the strongest arguments in favor of their generosity and helpfulness is found in the fact that the squalor and poverty, so frequently seen in the midst of the great wealth and boasted charities of our large cities, are, and always have been, entirely unknown in the farming communities of the Pennsylvania-Germans."

²⁸ The *German's* farm was easily distinguished from those of others, by good fences, the extent of orchard, the fertility of soil, productiveness of the fields, the luxuriance of the meadows. *Colum-Mag.* for 1790.—I. D. Rupp.





THE FARMERS.



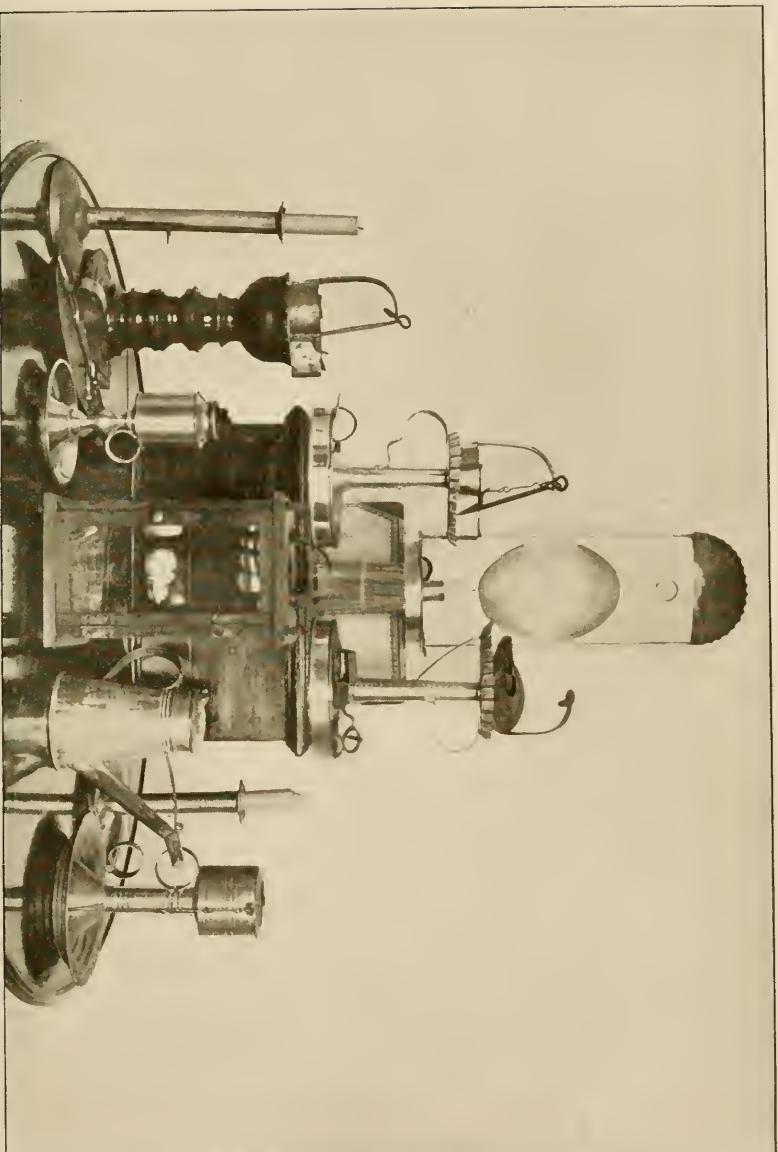
1st. In settling a tract of land,²⁹ they always provide large and suitable accommodations for their horses and cattle, before they lay out much money in building a house for themselves. The barn³⁰ and stables are generally under one roof, and contrived in such manner as to enable them to feed their horses and cattle, and to remove their dung, with as little trouble as

²⁹ As to the taking up of land by the settlers and acquiring of tracts, consult the manuscript *Surveys and Land Warrants*, found among "Taylor's *Papers*, Being a Collection of Warrants, Surveys, Letters, etc., Relating to the Early Settlements of Pennsylvania." Jacob Taylor was Surveyor General of Pennsylvania from 1701-1733.

³⁰ Later, (16th), Dr. Rush again refers to the more fully developed Pennsylvania-German barn.

"And what barns! No community on earth can boast of finer and larger barns than these 'Switzers' of our Lebanon Valley Pennsylvania-German Georgic princes. Yet such is the skill of this king of farmers, this Pennsylvania-German, that even

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMANS.



PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN LAMPS AND TINWARE, XVIII CENTURY.

possible. The first dwelling house³¹ upon this farm³² is small, and built of logs. It generally

these gigantic store houses are often known to overflow with farm products and rows of hive-shaped stacks of hay and grain have to be set near by as so many sentinels to guard the rich farm treasures."—Croll, *Ancient and Historic Landmarks in the Lebanon Valley*, p. 17.

³¹ The first home was the original log cabin in the wilderness, without foundations. This gave way to substantial log buildings, "of the dimensions of fifteen feet square at the least," with a masonry foundation and "a good chimney of brick or stone to be laid in and built with lime and sand."—Schmauk, *Old Salem in Lebanon*, pp. 41, 48.

The first log house was a very plain construction. Its sides were of logs; the openings between the logs were filled with clay, often mixed with grass. Windows were of small dimensions. Doors were often of two parts, an upper and a lower, hung or fastened separately. The interior was frequently only one room, with hearth and chimney, with a floor of stone or hardened clay, with steps or a ladder leading to the attic, with roughly constructed tables and benches, plainly made bedsteads, shelving on the walls and wooden pegs driven into the logs. The pioneer's house was not complete without the large fireplace, often in the center of the buildings and very often on one of the sides of the house, with hearth and chimney erected outside of the building, yet joining the same.—Schantz, *The Pennsylvania-German as Pioneer and Home Builder, Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, X. The article goes on to describe the contents and various rooms of the house at length.

³² A house built by a German, could, even at a distance, be readily distinguished from one erected by a Scotch, Irish or Englishman. Had the house but one chimney, and this in the middle (*in der Mitte des Hauses*), then it was a German's. They had stoves. To economize in the use of stove pipes, the

lasts the life time of the first settler of a tract of land; and hence they have a saying, that "a son should always begin his improvements where his father left off,"—that is, by building a large and convenient stone house.³³

2d. They always prefer good land³⁴ or that land on which there is a large quantity of meadow

chimney occupied the central portion. A house with a chimney at each gable end, was erected by an Englishman. *Schoepf's Reise durch Pennsylvanien*, 1783, p. 185.

If there was a spring on his farm, which supplied him with water, he built a milk house, and, on the floor above, was a place to smoke meat, if not, a loft to store winter apples.—I. D. Rupp.

³³ After the first generation's houses of logs, which probably endured for twenty years, and the second and very substantial log structures, came the period of stone construction. These old stone homes, taverns and mansions, as they are found to-day yet on the streets of Germantown, and in such cities as Easton, Lancaster, and Lebanon, and as they stand in the midst of fertile farms, or by the road side as wayside inns, and the old, large, substantial and indestructible stone churches which still grace the landscape of the interior of eastern Pennsylvania, are worthy monuments, able to endure through all time, of the skill, the art, the industry and the resources of the early German inhabitants. The grandson of William Penn, passing through the region of the Tulpehocken, on April 10, 1788, wrote in his journal: "On the eastern side of this is a most elegant new Lutheran church. On the western is a Calvinist's, called here, by way of distinction, a Presbyterian church. After riding through a village (Hebron) I came to Lebanon, a handsome town, containing some hundred inhabitants. This place is decorated by a spire, and the houses are well built, many of them stone or brick."

³⁴ In dealing with William Penn, Pastorius and the Frankfort Land Company secured the choicest farming lands for the Ger-

ground. From an attention to the cultivation of grass, they often double the value of an old farm in a few years, and grow rich on farms, on which their predecessors³⁵ of whom they purchased them, have nearly starved. They prefer purchasing farms with some improvements³⁶ to settling a new tract of land.

mans. As, later, the migrations pressed westward of Chester County into the state, they took up the rich meadow lands of Montgomery, Lancaster, York, Lebanon, Berks, Lehigh, and portions of Bucks counties, leaving the hillsides to other nationalities. "The success of the German, in the first place, lay in this intuitive knowledge of good land. They almost invariably selected that which contained the heaviest timber, knowing that it would produce the largest crops, while many of the Scotch-Irish were no doubt intimidated by the herculean task of removing the heavy timber. . . . Another important factor in favor of the Germans was that which invariably led them to plow deep, and to keep the soil mellow at all times. They have always despised the 'yankee' methods of simply scratching the soil. . . . But no doubt the most important reason of this continued success lay in the fact that they never overtaxed the soil, but replenished it at regular intervals as carefully and generously as they fed their cattle."—Dr. George Mays, *The Early Pennsylvania-German Farmer, The Pennsylvania-German*, October, 1901, pp. 185, 186.

³⁵ The Germans have supplanted, in many counties, the Scotch-Irish. Cumberland, originally settled by Scotch-Irish, has now a prevailing German population. In Northampton County, though there was at first a moiety of Irish or Scotch-Irish settlers; now, nine-tenths of the inhabitants are Germans. As early as 1790, Germans to the number of 145,000 were scattered through the State. Five-sixth of East Pennsylvania are Germans.—I. D. Rupp.

³⁶ Even in the small towns, "improvements" were a main fea-

3d. In clearing new land, they do not girdle³⁷ the trees simply, and leave them to perish in the ground, as is the custom of their English or Irish neighbors; but they generally cut them down and burn them. In destroying under-wood and bushes, they generally grub them out of the ground; by which means a field is as fit for cultivation the second year after it is cleared, as it is in twenty years afterwards. The advantages of this mode of clearing, consist in the immediate product of

ture. Gradually, back of the house there would be built a bake-oven, perhaps a wash-house, and a smoke-house, and on the rear of the lot a stable and pig sty. There would also be a large wood-pile and vegetable garden and sometimes a potato patch on each property.—Schmauk, *The Town of Steitz*, p. 48.

³⁷ The process of *girdling* or *belting*, was, to chop entirely around the tree, a curve of three or four inches wide. A tree was not well deadened unless it was cut to the red—cut completely through the *alburnum* or sap. Seventy years ago, when a piece of land was cleared in Cumberland County, in the first place, it was staked off by the *woodmen*. Provided with a *Waldhacke*, grub-ax, he would take up by the roots die *Baeumchen*, the saplings, which he could shake in the root, by laying hold of the young tree, bending it backwards and forwards. If the roots yielded to this action, it was called a *grub*. After the land had been grubbed, the larger standing saplings, and trees were cut down, and chopped into rail lengths, of eleven feet or cordwood lengths, of four feet. The rail lengths were split for fencing purposes, the four feet lengths were split for firewood. This done, the brush was picked into heaps, and when dry, fire was set to them. The clearing, *das gelichtete Stueck*, was then ready for the plow.—I. D. Rupp.

the field, and in the greater facility with which it is ploughed, harrowed and reaped. The expense of repairing a plough, which is often broken two or three times in a year by small stumps concealed in the ground, is often greater than the extraordinary expense of grubbing the same field completely, in clearing it.³⁸

4th. They feed their horses and cows, of which they keep only a small number, in such a manner, that the former perform twice the labor of those horses, and the latter yield twice the quantity of

³⁸ Those who practised *girdling* or *belting*, claimed that thus deadening the timber, had its advantages—labor was saved in chopping down and burning the stuff on the ground. In some parts of Pennsylvania, it was impossible to cut down the timber, because farmers were too poor to pay for so much labor. The dead timber afforded firewood for years, which obviated the necessity of resorting to the woods. When the deadened trees fell, the roots were taken out with the trees. In eight or ten years, the trees began to fall rapidly. When the ground was pretty well covered with old logs, the farmer commenced “to *nigger-off*,” which was effected by laying the broken limbs and smaller trees across the logs and putting fire to it. The young members of the family, *boys and girls*, followed to *chunck up* the fires. In a few days, the logs were *niggered-off*, at the length of 12 or 15 feet. Sometimes the entire tree was consumed. When the logs were thus reduced to lengths that they could be handled by a few men, the owner had a *log-rolling*. He invited some of his neighbors, who assembled to aid him in his *rolling*. Usually, at such rollings, not a little hilarity prevailed, by reason of the free use of the German's *Brant-wein*, the Irishman's *uisge-beatha*, *usquebaugh*, the Frenchman's *Eau de vie*, water-of-life.—I. D. Rupp.

milk of those cows, that are less plentifully fed.³⁹ There is great economy in this practice, especially in a country where so much of the labour of a farmer is necessary to support his domestic animals. A German horse is known in every part of the state: indeed he seems to "feel with his lord, the pleasure and the pride" of his extraordinary size or fat.

5th. The fences of a German farm are generally high, and well built;⁴⁰ so that his fields seldom suffer from the inroads of his own or his neighbours, horses, cattle, hogs, or sheep.

✓ 6th. The German farmers are great economists of their wood. Hence they burn it only in stoves, in which they consume but a 4th or 5th part of what is commonly burnt in ordinary open fire places: besides, their horses are saved by means of this economy, from that immense labour, in hauling wood in the middle of winter, which frequently unfits the horses of their neighbours for the toils of the ensuing spring. Their houses are, moreover, rendered so comfortable, at all times, by large

³⁹ It is a maxim with Germans:

	Mit Futtern ist Keine Zeit verloren,
<i>i. e.,</i>	To feed well, no time is lost.
	Wer gut futtert — gut buttert,
<i>i. e.,</i>	He that feeds well, churns much butter.

—I. D. Rupp.

⁴⁰ Wie einer den Zaun haelt, haelt er auch das Gut,
i. e., The condition of the fence, shows the condition of the farm.

—I. D. Rupp.

close stoves,⁴¹ that twice the business is done by every branch of the family, in knitting, spinning, and mending farming utensils, that is done in houses where every member of the family crowds near to a common fire-place, or shivers at a distance from it,—with hands and fingers that move, by reason of the cold, with only half their usual quickness.

They discover economy in the preservation and increase of their wood in several other ways. They sometimes defend it, by high fences, from their cattle; by which means the young forest trees are suffered to grow, to replace those that are cut down for the necessary use of the farm. But where this cannot be conveniently done, they surround the stump of that tree which is most useful for fences, viz., the chestnut, with a small triangular fence. From this stump a number of suckers shoot out in a few years, two or three of which in the course of five and twenty years, grow into trees of the



⁴¹ In some of their houses, the Germans used the six-plate stove. Christopher Saur is said to have suggested the ten-plate stove. The cannon stoves first appeared in 1752 made at Lancaster and at Colebrookdale furnace, Berks County, and according to *Watson's Annals*, I., 218, they were used in churches and court rooms. Some of the earliest stoves in America, ten-plate, were made by Herr Huber, at "Elizabeth Hochofen," Lancaster County; of whom Baron Stiegel became the partner, after he came to this country from Mannheim, Germany, and to whom Huber sold his works in 1757. See *Der Deutsche Pioneer*, XVI., pp. 191-194; see also note 63a in this "Account."

same size as the tree from whose roots they derived their origin.

7th. They keep their horses and cattle as warm as possible in winter,⁴² by which means they save a great deal of their hay and grain; for those animals when cold, eat much more than when they are in a more comfortable situation.

8th. The German farmers live frugally in their families, with respect to diet, furniture and apparel.⁴³ They sell their most profitable grain, which is wheat; and eat that which is less profitable, but more nourishing, that is, rye or Indian corn. The profit to a farmer, from this single article of economy, is equal, in the course of a life time, to the price of a farm for one of his children. They eat sparingly of boiled animal food, with large quantities of vegetable, particularly sallad, turnips, onions, and cabbage, the last of which

⁴² The German Proverb runs:

	Eine gute Kuh sucht man im Stalle,
<i>i. e.,</i>	One seeks for a good cow in the stable.

—I. D. Rupp.

⁴³ In an inventory of the goods of Andrew Ferree, a wealthy farmer of Lancaster County, appraised November 24, 1735, the following articles are enumerated, viz.: A large Family Bible, £2; two feather beds, £6; wearing clothes, £7; sundry pewter, £2, 8 shillings; a box of iron, 4 shillings; sundry ironware, £2; a watering pot, 6 shillings; wooden ware, £1; two iron pot racks, £1; two chests, 15 shillings; spinning wheel, 8 shillings; Total, £23, 1 shilling.—I. D. Rupp.

they make into sour crout.⁴⁴ They likewise use a large quantity of milk and cheese in their diet. Perhaps the Germans do not proportion the quantity of their animal food, to the degrees of their labour; hence it has been thought, by some people, that they decline in strength sooner than their English or Irish neighbors. Very few of them ever use distilled spirits in their families: their common drinks are cyder,⁴⁵ beer, wine, and simple water. The furniture of their house is plain and useful. They cover themselves in winter with light feather beds⁴⁶ instead of blankets; in this con-

⁴⁴ Sauer-kraut is a wholesome food, if properly made, and not allowed to ferment beyond the proper point. It had been, as some maintain, among the favorite dishes upon the table of Charlemagne (Karl der Grosse), king of France, who died A.D. 814, and very likely was made by the Germans, of the days of *Attila*, king of the Huns, who died A.D. 453. Throughout Germany it is served three or four times a week, during the winter.—I. D. Rupp.

⁴⁵ See "*The Old Cider Mill*" by Dr. S. P. Heilman, in *Proceedings of Lebanon County Historical Society*, Vol. II.

⁴⁶ Elkanah Watson, a New Englander, in a tour from Providence, R. I., to South Carolina, through Pennsylvania, in October, 1777, says: "At Reamstown (Lancaster Co., Pa.) I was placed between two beds, without sheets or pillows. This, as I was told, was a prevailing custom, but, which, as far as my experience goes, tends little to promote either the sleep or comfort of a stranger."—Elkanah Watson, *Men and Times*, p. 31.

A tourist writes from Toeplitz, a town and watering place in Bohemia, 1831: "At Berggrieshuebel, where we stopped for the night, we were introduced for the first time, to the stewing of a real *German bed*. It consists of two large bags filled with

trivance there is both convenience, and economy, for the beds are warmer than blankets, and they are made by themselves. The apparel of the German farmers is usually home spun.⁴⁷ When they use European articles of dress, they prefer those which are of the best quality, and of the highest price. They are afraid of debt, and seldom purchase anything without paying cash for it.^{47a}

downs, between which, without any other covering, the luckless wight of a traveller is called to repose. How this *buttering on both sides* may do in the winter, I shall not determine; but, heaven knows, that on the occasion referred to, it was altogether insupportable. I endeavored, but failed, to get a couch more in unison with the atmosphere of summer; of course, I was obliged from sheer fatigue, to submit to the dissolution and thaw of this fearful hot bath."—Strang, *Germany*, p. 235.—Quoted by I. D. Rupp.

⁴⁷ The German farmer's motto is:

Selbstgesponnen, selbst-gemacht:

Rein dabei is Bauerntracht.

Poetized—

To spin, to weave, to ready make his clothes,

And keep them clean, the frugal farmer knows.

Carpets, now deemed indispensable to comfort, were not to be seen in a German farmer's house before 1800. There are still some Germans, especially among the Amish and German Brethren, who dispense with this comfort. Carpets were nowhere to be seen, in rooms or parlors, even in Philadelphia, till about 1750.—I. D. Rupp.

^{47a} Dr. Rush furnishes a striking illustration of this fact in the following anecdote of Christopher Ludwick:

"At the close of the war, he returned and settled on his farm near Germantown. His house had been plundered of every article

9th. The German farmers have larger or profitable gardens near their houses. These contain little else but useful vegetables. Pennsylvania is indebted to the Germans for the principal part of her knowledge in horticulture. There was a time when turnips and cabbage were the principal vegetables that were used in diet by the citizens of Philadelphia. This will not surprise those persons, who know that the first English settlers in Pennsylvania left England while horticulture was in its

of furniture, plate and wearing apparel, he had left in it, by the British army on their march to Philadelphia. As he had no more cash than was sufficient to satisfy the demands of the market, he suffered a good deal from the want of many of the conveniences of life. He slept six weeks between blankets, rather than contract a single debt by replacing his sheets."—Rush, *Life of Ludwick*.

Ludwick received a commission signed by order of Congress by John Hancock President, as Superintendent of Bakers in the army of the United States. "When this commission was delivered to him by a committee of Congress, they proposed, that for every pound of flour, he should furnish the army with a pound of bread. 'No gentlemen,' said he, 'I will not accept of your commission upon any such terms; Christopher Ludwick does not want to get rich by the war; he has money enough. I will furnish one hundred and thirty-five pounds of bread for every cwt. of flour you put into my hands.' The committee were strangers to the increase of weight which flour acquires by the addition of water and leaven.

"From this time there were no complaints of the bad quality of bread in the army, nor was there a moment in which the movements of the army, or of any part of it, were delayed from the want of that necessary article of food."

General Washington addressed Ludwick as "his honest friend."
—Rush, *Life of Ludwick*, pp. 14, 15.

infancy in that country. It was not until the reign of William III. that this useful and agreeable art was cultivated by the English nation. Since the settlement of a number of German gardeners in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, the tables of all classes of citizens have been covered with a variety of vegetables, in every season of the year; and to the use of these vegetables, in diet, may be ascribed the general exemption of the citizens of Philadelphia from diseases of the skin.

10th. The Germans seldom hire men to work upon their farms. The feebleness of that authority which masters possess over hired servants,⁴⁸ is such that their wages are seldom procured from their labour, except in harvest, when they work in the presence of their masters. The wives and daughters of the German farmers frequently forsake, for a while, their dairy and spinning-wheel, and join their husbands and brothers in the labour of cutting down, collecting and bringing home the fruits of their fields and orchards. The work of the gardens is generally done by the women of the family.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Unlike their English and Irish neighbors, they never, as a general thing, had colored servants, or slaves. Berks, a German County, having a population of 30,179, in 1790, had only 65 slaves in the ratio of one to 464 whites. Cumberland County, originally settled by Scotch-Irish, with a population in 1790 of 15,655, had 360 slaves, in the ratio of one to 44 whites.—I. D. Rupp.

✓ ⁴⁹ Times and customs have changed since the pristine settlements of Pennsylvania. Not more than seventy years ago, the good housewife aided by her daughters, would cultivate the gar-

11th. A large and strong waggon⁵⁰ covered with linen cloth, is an essential part of the furniture of a German farm. In this waggon, drawn by four or five large horses of a peculiar breed;⁵¹ they con-

den, dress and keep it in order, decorate the cottage with choice honeysuckles, direct the tendrils of the native grapes that shaded the house. In the winter, mothers and daughters spun flax; in the spring, the wool, on the humming wheel; from the warp and weft of the spun yarn, they wove linen, linsey and woolen webs. Then a loom was found in every family. The linen, she spread in the proper season, upon the lawn, to whiten or bleach. Exposed alike with husband, the wife cheerfully bore with him the burden and toil of life. Even sixty years ago, there could be seen the *Baurbursch*, the youthful peasant, at the side of him, the *Baurmaedchen*, the peasant girl, the classic *Puella rustica*, wielding the sickle. Then, this season, *tempus messis*, harvest time, was one replete with more than ordinary interest to the youthful blood of both sexes, "redolent of joy and youth." In many parts of Germany, even at this day, the farmers' wives perform field labor, as well as the men.—I. D. Rupp.

⁵⁰ Schoepf, in speaking of the Market in Philadelphia, 1782, says: "Die entferntesten, besonders deutschen Landleute, kommen mit grossen, mit mancherlei Proviant beladenen bedeckten Waegen auf denen sie zugleich ihren eigenen Mundvorrath und Futter fuer ihre Pferde mit bringen, und darauf uebernachten," (p. 165); the most distant, especially German country people come to the city, with large covered wagons, laden with all sorts of provisions; bringing with them, at the same time, their own victuals, and feed for their horses, while remaining here.—I. D. Rupp.

⁵¹ The peculiar breed was the Conestoga horse, of wide celebrity. The name Conestoga is from the name of a stream in Lancaster County, along which Swiss Mennonites settled, as early as 1709, 1717. They were principally farmers. When the Mennonites first settled in Conestoga valley, the counties of Phila-

vey to market over the roughest roads, between 2 or 3 thousand pounds weight of the produce of their farms. In the months of September and October, it is no uncommon thing, on the Lancaster and Reading roads, to meet in one day from fifty to an hundred of these waggons, on their way to Philadelphia, most of which belong to German farmers.⁵²

12th. The favourable influence of agriculture, as conducted by the Germans in extending human happiness, is manifested by the joy they express upon the birth of a child. No dread of poverty, nor distrust of Providence from an increasing family, depress the spirits of these industrious and frugal people. Upon the birth of a son, they exult in the gift of a ploughman or a waggoner; and upon the birth of a daughter, they rejoice in the addition of another spinster, or milkmaid to their family. Happy state of human society! What

delphia and Chester had been settled by English emigrants, who brought some horses with them. From this stock, the Conestoga horse was derived.—*His. Lan. Co. Pa.*, pp. 74, etc.; *Rep. Com. of Agri.*, 1863, pp. 175, 180.—I. D. Rupp.

⁵² In 1789, there were no turnpike roads in Pennsylvania. June 21, 1792, the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Co. was chartered, which made and established the first turnpike road laid in Pennsylvania. It was commenced 1792, finished 1794. It was sixty-two miles in length, and cost \$7,500 per mile. The Germantown and Perkiomen turnpike road was begun 1801, finished 1804, 25 miles in length, cost \$11,287 per mile.—I. D. Rupp. For early roads, see Ferree, *Pennsylvania*, pp. 209, 210.

blessings can civilization confer, that can atone for the extinction of the ancient and patriarchal pleasure of raising up a numerous and healthy family of children, to labour for their parents, for themselves, and for their country; and finally to partake of the knowledge and happiness which are annexed to existence! The joy of parents upon the birth of a child is the grateful echo of creating goodness. May the mountains of Pennsylvania be forever vocal, with songs of joy upon these occasions! They will be the infallible signs of innocence, industry, wealth and happiness of the state.⁵³

13th. The Germans take great pains to produce, in their children, not only habits of labour, but a love of it. In this they submit to the irreversible sentence inflicted upon man, in such a manner, as to convert the wrath of heaven into public and private happiness. "To fear God, and to love work," are the first lessons they teach their children.⁵⁴ They prefer industrious habits to money

⁵³ Here is a prophecy, made in 1789 for Pennsylvania, and sufficiently vital to-day to form the text of an earnest sermon to the children who are departing from the ways of their fathers.

⁵⁴ The Germans believed:

Muesiggang, ist des Teufels Ruhebank:

An idle brain is the devil's workshop.

To their children, they said:

Arbeite treu, und glaub es fest
Dass Faulheit aerger ist als Pest,
Der Muesiggang viel Boeses lehrt,
Und alle Art von Suenden mehrt.

itself; hence, when a young man asks the consent of his father to marry the girl of his choice, he does not enquire so much whether she be rich or poor, or whether she possesses any personal or mental accomplishments—as whether she be industrious, and acquainted with the duties of a good housewife?⁵⁵

14th. The Germans set a great value upon patrimonial property. This useful principle in human nature prevents much folly and vice in young people. It moreover leads to lasting and extensive

Work faithfully: believe 'tis true,
Idleness is worse than a pest;
It is sure, much harm to do,
The cause of gross sins, 'tis confest.

—I. D. Rupp.

The eighty-eighth of Christopher Dock's *One Hundred Necessary Rules for Conduct of Children* ran, "Be never idle, but either go to assist your parents, or recite your lessons, and learn by heart what was given you."—Schantz, *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, X., 96.

⁵⁵ German maxims:

Ein fleissige Hausfrau ist die beste Sparbuechse.
An industrious house-wife is the best money-safe.

Erwerben, un sparen zugleich
Macht am gewissesten reich.

He that earns and *Saves* will be,
Rich for certain, you shall see.

Der Ehestand ist ein Huehner haus
Der eine will hinein, der andre will heraus.

The marriage state is like a coop, built stout,
The *outs* would fain be in, the *ins* be out.

—I. D. Rupp.

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMANS.



HOUSE INSTRUCTION BY ONE OF THE EPHRATA BRETHREN.

advantages, in the improvement of a farm; for what inducement can be stronger in a parent to plant an orchard,⁵⁶ to preserve forest trees or to build a commodious and durable house, than the idea, that they will all be possessed by a succession of generations, who shall inherit his blood and name.

15th. The German farmers are very much influenced in planting and pruning trees, also in sowing and reaping, by the age and appearances of the moon. This attention to the state of the moon has been ascribed to superstition;⁵⁷ but if the facts re-

⁵⁶ The German axiom reads:

Im kleinsten Raum pflanz einen Baum
Und pflege sein, er bringt dir's ein.

In smallest space, a fruit tree place,
Attend it well, have fruit to sell.

—I. D. Rupp.

⁵⁷ The dependence of the Pennsylvania-German farmer upon the almanac for major and minor agricultural operations, as well as for many activities of the household, and the faith in proverbs and superstitions connected with the signs of the zodiac, and particularly with the phases of the moon, is well known, and continues in some measure to the present time. In how far climatic influences are to be ascribed to the influence of celestial bodies, in addition to that of the sun, and how far the superstitious folk-lore of the Pennsylvania-Germans is dependent upon the tissue of superstition which was universal in the Old World from which they came, has not yet been accurately determined. But, doubtless, much of their implicit faith even in superstitions is due to the respect which they had for the forces of Providence and Nature, as able to control, to guide, and to destroy the most

lated by Mr. Wilson in his observations upon climates are true, part of their success in agriculture must be ascribed to their being so much influenced by it.

16th. From the history that has been given of the German agriculture, it will hardly be necessary to add that a German farm may be distinguished from the farms of the other citizens of the state, by the superior size of their barns;⁵⁸ the plain, but compact form of their houses;⁵⁹ the height of their

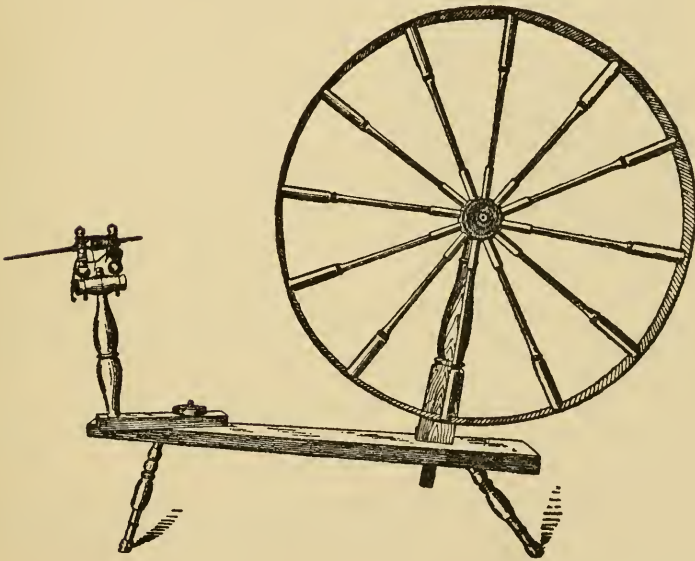
powerful of the efforts of man. Long generations of experience generalized and summed up, often in fantastic manner, in folklore, was the sort of wisdom on which these keen and hardy agricultural folk were obliged to depend, in lieu of anything better, for their agricultural operations.

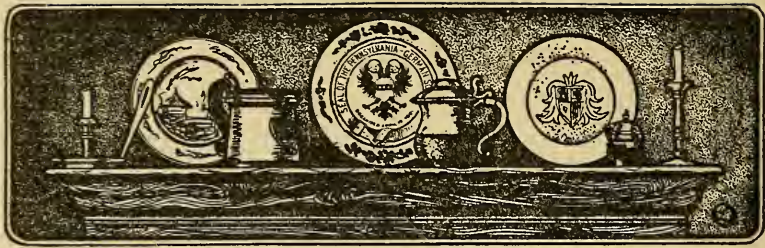
⁵⁸ See Note 30.

⁵⁹ The inferiority of the house, and the home, and its appointments, to those of the farm and the barn, is a criticism most frequently urged against the Pennsylvania-Germans, and is found amplified into larger principles of life, in such works as *Tillie, the Mennonite Maid*. In an impartial investigation into this limitation of the Pennsylvania-German character, it should, however, be remembered that their life in the open air, their healthy robustness in toil, their joy in labor and in its success, and the necessity of looking to the substantial returns of the soil overshadowed the life within the house, which was really and chiefly a resting place and a shelter against the extremities of the weather. The real life of the Pennsylvania-German was in work out of doors, and his real home was not his house, but his farm. This outlook of his is narrow and defective, it is true, but not more so—and perhaps less—than the modern outlook becoming so prevalent now throughout America, in which the home is subordinated to the *street*, and the real life and enjoyment of youth

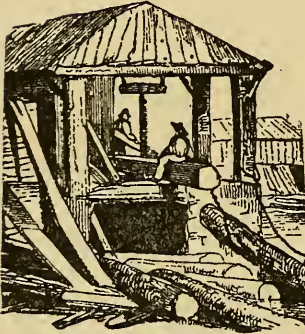
inclosures; the extent of their orchards; the fertility of their fields; the luxuriance of their meadows, and a general appearance of plenty and neatness in everything that belongs to them.

and of the people is not found in work in the heart of nature, but in enjoyment on excursions, sea-side allurements, automobile trips, shows, and theatricals.





THE MECHANICS AND MERCHANTS.



THE German mechanic possesses some of the traits of the character that has been drawn of the German farmer. His first object is to become a freeholder;⁶⁰ and hence we find few of them live in rented houses.⁶¹ The highest compliment that can be paid to them on entering their houses is to ask them, "is this house your own." They are industrious, frugal,⁶² punctual

⁶⁰ It is the German element in many American cities and towns that gives the community a large share of the aggregate wealth, reliability and independence.

⁶¹ The reverse of this quality is found in that American citizen to-day who is willing to mortgage his ancestral home in order to purchase a motor car.

⁶² The impression that the Germans made upon the keen eye of Benjamin Rush was not one of avarice or meanness, and in drawing a moral in his *Life of Christopher Ludwick* he says (pp. 5, 6): "The history of the life and character of Christopher Lud-

and just. Since their settlement in Pennsylvania, many of them have acquired a knowledge of those mechanical arts, which are more immediately necessary and useful in a new country; while they continue at the same time, to carry on the arts⁶³ they imported from Germany, with vigour and success.^{63a}

wick, is calculated to show the influence of a religious education upon moral conduct; of habits of industry and economy, upon success in all enterprises; and to inspire hope and exertion in young men of humble employment, and scanty capital, to aspire to wealth and independence, as the only means by which they are capable of commanding respect and affording happiness."

⁶³ Luetscher, *Industries of Pennsylvania after the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, with special reference to Lancaster and York Counties, Americana Germanica*, vol. v, pp. 135-155, and pp. 197-208. See also the *Danner Museum* at Mannheim.

The German aptitude for thoroughness, for patience, for system and order, for a willingness to wait until the proper time has arrived in which to carry on any particular stage of an enterprise, and the absence of that nervous haste and feverish zeal to see immediate results, which characterizes more mercurial races, has always been charged to the account of the Pennsylvania-German's slowness. It is quite true that he cannot and will not be hurried; but it is equally true that his work in the mechanical arts, when once done, need not be done over again. The results are worth the additional time spent in the process. This is one of the secrets of the Pennsylvania-German's success in dealing with Nature, who will not allow herself to be hurried, and does not approve of man's impatience, in the growth of crops.

^{63a} Both the paper making and the printing industry in Pennsylvania were founded by Germans. Throughout the rural districts they set up grist mills and saw mills. Many of them were weavers. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of March 5, 1730, tells us that the German Mennonite Kurtz built his iron works on *Octorara*

But the genius of the Germans of Pennsylvania, is not confined to agriculture and the mechanical arts. Many of them have acquired great wealth by foreign and domestic commerce. As merchants⁶⁴ they are candid and punctual. The bank

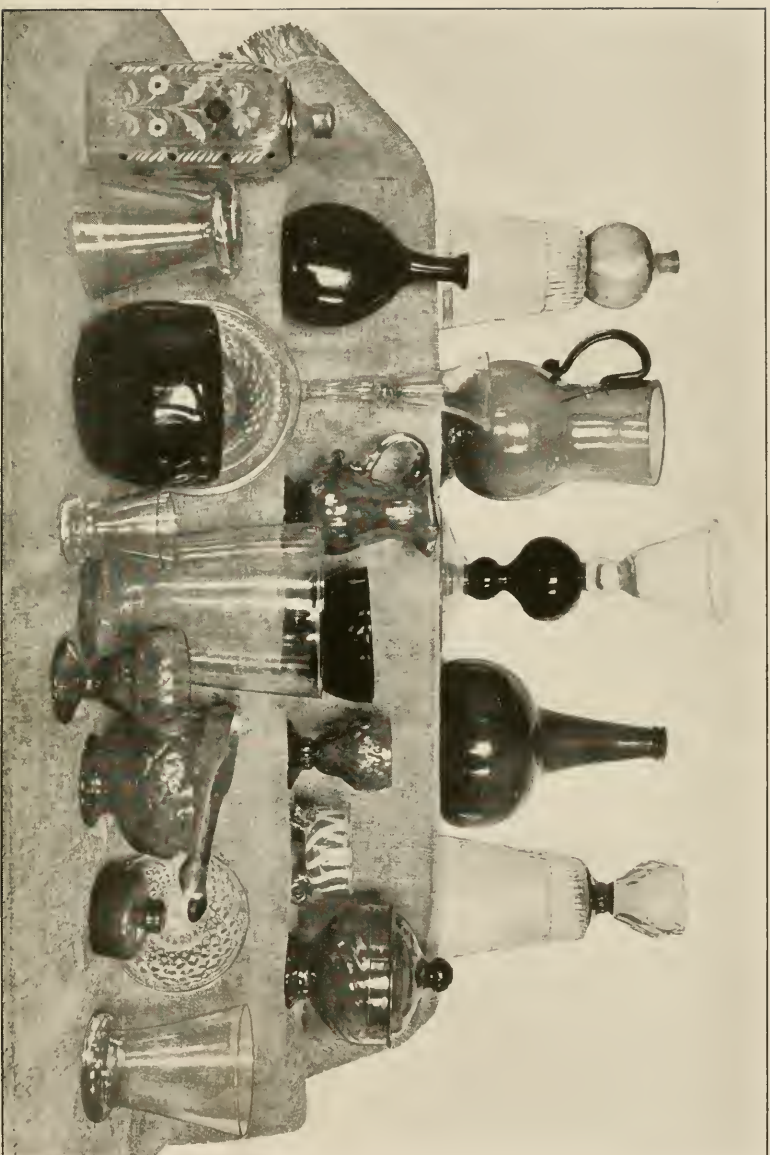
Creek, in Lancaster County, as early as 1726. The "*Oley*" works were founded in 1745. The Tulpehocken "*Eisenhammer*," two miles from Womelsdorf, was established in 1749. The iron smelting industry at *Elizabeth*, on the southern slope of the Cornwall hills, with Schaefferstown on the one side, and Mannheim on the other, was founded by Herr Johann Huber in 1750, who in 1757 sold his works to Baron H. W. Stiegel. This plant included not only a smelting furnace, but a foundry, smith shops, a wagon factory, and more extensive than all, an establishment for the manufacture of iron plates for stoves, which are said to have borne the inscription:

"Baron Stiegel ist der Mann
Der die Oefen giessen kann."

Wollenweber claims (*Der Deutsche Pionier*, II., p. 28) he saw a stove in Lebanon with this inscription shortly before 1870. For Baron Stiegel, see *Der Deutsche Pionier*, XII., pp. 82-87; also *A Tale*, by M. H. Stine, Ph.D., Philadelphia, 1903.

⁶⁴ The sense of honor, of responsibility to the public, and of carrying on a business, whether by large or small expenditure, in the way that is proper to that particular piece of business, has always been remarkable among this people. Dr. Rush detected it in the public business activities of Christopher Ludwick. He says (pp. 18, 19): "I have known Christopher Ludwick from an early period in the war, and have every reason to believe, as well from observation as information, that he has been a true and faithful servant to the public; that he has detected and exposed many impositions, which were attempted to be practised by others in his department; that he has been the cause of much saving in many respects; and that his deportment in public life, has afforded unquestionable proofs of his integrity and worth.

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMANS.



SPECIMENS OF GERMAN HANDICRAFT, XVIII CENTURY.
STIEGEL GLASSWARE, MADE IN LANCASTER COUNTY.

of North America has witnessed, from its first institution, their fidelity to all their pecuniary engagements.⁶⁵

“With respect to his losses, I have no personal knowledge, but have often heard that he has suffered from his zeal in the cause of his country.”

⁶⁵ The word “German” or “German-American” to-day, in connection with a bank, a real estate agency, a building association, or any semi-public financial enterprise, still carries with it some feeling that there is good management, prudence, skill in investment, safety of capital, and returns in interest, to be expected. The German character, when uncorrupted, regards the discharge of a financial obligation or responsibility, as a point of duty and of honor, as of first importance, and to be toiled for patiently, until the end has been realized.





GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.



THUS far I have described the individual character of several orders of the German citizens of Pennsylvania. I shall now take notice of some of their manners⁶⁶ in a collective capacity. All the different sects among them are particularly attentive to the religious education⁶⁷ of their children, and to the establishment and support of the Christian Religion. For this purpose they settle as much as

⁶⁶ See remarks on the use of this word in the Introduction to this "Account."

⁶⁷ THE SCHOOLS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS.

There was almost no illiteracy among the original immigrants, and during the whole period of immigration, Germans educated in German universities were coming to this country. Pastorius, Köster, Weis, Peter Miller, Muhlenberg, Schlatter and Kunze were all active in the Province of Pennsylvania (compare

Kurz gefaßt.

Nütliches

Schul = Büchlein

Die Kinder zu unterrichten, in Buchstabieren,
Lesen, und auswendig lernen,

Deme angehängt ein kurzer doch deutlicher, und
gründlicher

Unterricht
Zur Rechenkunst.

Aufgesetzt zum Nuß und Gebrauch vor Kinder.

Von L. H

Zweite Auflage.

EPHRATA.

Gedruckt und zu bekommen bey dem Schulmeister,
Drucker und Buchbinder 1786

LUDWIG HOECKER'S PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SCHOOL TEXTBOOK giving instruction in spelling, reading and arithmetic, together with passages for memorizing, and printed at the Ephrata Press in 1786, three years before Dr. Rush wrote his work on the Germans.

possible together—and make the erection of a school house and a place of worship the first object

Rosengarten, *Proceedings of Pennsylvania-German Society*, XIII., 65); but, as Muhlenberg observes, the original immigrants were so absorbed with the preparation of the soil and the erection of buildings, that the second and the third generation did not receive the same training that had been given to their parents, and were growing up wild and untutored. Yet the pastors and the school masters did their best under prevailing conditions, and sent pleas to Europe for help.

Christopher Dock opened a school on the Skippack for the Mennonites as early as 1718 and wrote his *Schul-Ordnung* in 1750. Ludwick Hecker taught the children of the Dunkards at Ephrata in 1739. In 1743 the Moravians under the direction of Count Zinzendorf opened day schools at such places as Muddy Creek, Lancaster, Oley, Mill Creek, Warwick, Heidelberg, Macungie, and Germantown, and also conducted boarding schools. In 1748 the Lutherans had a school and teacher in Philadelphia, in Germantown two schools and teachers, in Providence a small school, in New Holland a rather large school and a teacher, in Lancaster two school teachers and seventy children. In 1749, no less than twelve school masters arrived, and in 1750 came Gottlieb Mittelberger. The ministers and the younger candidates for the ministry organized and taught schools among the people. The *Hallesche Nachrichten* frequently refer to the work and the difficulties of the school masters among whom J. Nicholas Kurtz and Jacob Loeser may especially be mentioned. In 1758 the Swedish Lutheran pastor Acrelius wrote: "In almost every ridge is a school house. . . . None, whether boys or girls, are now growing up who cannot read English, write and cipher." This certainly is too roseate a view of the situation.

Shortly after the middle of the century, the Charity School Movement, which was an effort to educate the Germans in Pennsylvania in the English language by endowment funds from Eng-

of their care. They commit the education and instruction of their children in a peculiar manner to the ministers and officers of their churches;—hence

land, with the ultimate view, by some of those connected with the movement, of bringing the children into the Anglican Church, arose, and, with its offer of hope, perhaps somewhat unfortunately, dominated the situation for a time. Before the end of the century, however, the Germans had returned to the parochial plan, and very large parochial schools, supported by popular subscription in the congregation, were created for the education of the youth in such cities and towns as Philadelphia, Lancaster, Reading and Lebanon. In 1793, four years after Dr. Rush wrote his "Account," the Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania reports forty-six schools in twenty-one parishes, of which ten were in Philadelphia. The minutes of the conventions show that a report of the condition of the schools was required of the ministers annually at the meeting of the body. Barr Ferree in his excellent *Pennsylvania: A Primer*, New York, 1904, pp. 230, 231, does justice to the Friends, the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, and the Moravians, but not to the Reformed Lutheran and Germans, where he also mistakenly identifies the idea of the "Union Church" with the early schools. Earlier in his work (p. 101), speaking of the Germans, he says: "As a whole they were not opposed to education, and established schools from the earliest date. Michael Schlatter and Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the leaders of the Reformed and Lutheran Germans, were in favor of the higher education."

Any effort to deal with "the Germans as an increasingly illiterate or irreligious people necessarily met their disapproval. They were too conscientious, too frank, too self-respecting, to tolerate any attempt at assistance, when assistance was the expression, on the part of their would-be benefactors, of a mistaken interpretation of their character, and on their own part a confession of weaknesses that did not exist. Dr. William Smith and his English allies did not understand these Pennsylvania-German immigrants. . . .

they grow up with prejudices in favour of public worship, and of the obligations of Christianity. Such has been the influence of a pious education⁶⁸ among the German Lutherans⁶⁹ in Pennsylvania, that in the course of nineteen years,⁷⁰ only one of them has ever been brought to a place of public shame or punishment.⁷¹

As members of civil government, the Germans

“ The Germans were not opposed to schools. That was not the issue. They loved their own national inheritances, their religious freedom, their educational ideals, including their mother-tongue. For these they resolutely struggled and won. No educational struggle in Colonial America can at all compare with this.”—M. G. Brumbaugh, in Weber, *The Charity School Movement*.

For the schools of the Germans in Pennsylvania, see *Hallesche Nachrichten*, I., 209, 234, 418, 431, 484, 551, 696; II., 38, 178, 218, 480, 559, 627, 629, 637, 661, 1476, 1477; *Coetus of the Reformed Congregations*, Charity Schools, 129, passim to 220; High School at Lancaster, 392, 403, 404, 409, 411, 426, 441; Brumbaugh, *Life and Works of Christopher Dock*, Philadelphia, Lippincott Company, 1908; Weber, *The Charity School Movement in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1754–1763*, Philadelphia, W. J. Campbell, 1905.

⁶⁸ This education was very much more thorough than that of our own day, in rooting the impulses of conduct deeply in the fear and love of God.

⁶⁹ The text of I. D. Rupp omits the word “Lutherans.”

⁷⁰ This is the generation trained by Muhlenberg, Brunnholtz, Handschuh, and the pious and indefatigable line of ministers from Halle.

⁷¹ Dr. Rush was intimate with the German pastors and the German people in Philadelphia among whom he moved as a physician, and must have known whereof he spoke.

Über Stein mit Eisenmehl beschreiben


 15
 steht sehr niedrig auf der Erden da du hoch
 stündest burger werden. Was du hier schauet weit und breit
 ist alles lauter Eitelkeit. Das dich irret ist gering nicht Schanden
 soll sin in Jahren vergangen sein. Du bist Mensch nicht auf Zeit
 den tag mit Garmen speisest du. In dem Tag

are peaceable⁷²—and exact in the payment of their taxes.⁷³ Since they have participated in the power of the state,⁷⁴ many of them have become sensible

⁷² There is an element of respect for authority, of willingness to share and bear the common burden, and of silence rather than remonstrance under the petty injustices and frictions in the common affairs of civil life, as well as a sense of loyalty, and a feeling of gratitude, which render the unsophisticated country-German character an exceedingly desirable and valuable element in the citizenship of any state.

If a citizen of a state be valuable to it on account of "his faithful obedience to the laws or for the sacredness with which he preserves the family compact, our German farmers certainly merit as much as any other class for the practice of these virtues."—*Philadelphia Ledger*, 1856, quoted by I. D. Rupp.

⁷³ It has been well said: "One of our richest men invariably spreads his *papers* before the assessor, and tells him to tax him, according to his mind. A genuine Pennsylvania-German buys for cash; or never, unless he sees the avenue by which the means are to flow into his hands. Our wives do not own their husband's property. Pedlers and venders lose less among us, than by other folks." *C. Z. W. Ref. Church Messenger*, 1868.—I. D. Rupp.

⁷⁴ See address of George F. Baer, *Proceedings of Pennsylvania-German Society*, I., pp. 18–25; Egle, *Place of the Pennsylvania-German in the Commonwealth*, *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, II., 18–130; Richards, *Pennsylvania-Germans in the French and Indian War*, *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, V.; Rosengarten, *Soldiers in the Revolution*, *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, XIII.; Heckman, *Soldiers in the Revolution*, *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, XI., pp. 8–12; Richards, *The Pennsylvania-Germans in the Revolutionary War*, *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, VII.; Address by S. W.

and enlightened in the science of legislation. Pennsylvania has had the speaker's chair of her assembly,⁷⁵ and the vice-president's office of her council,⁷⁶ filled with dignity by gentlemen of German families. The same gentlemen have since been advanced to seats in the house of representatives,⁷⁷

Pennypacker, *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, IX.; Address by John Wanamaker, *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, XIX.

When Rev. Peter Muhlenberg received a commission from General Washington, he preached a farewell sermon to his congregation, depicting the wrongs this country had suffered from Great Britain, and then exclaimed, "There is a time for all things—a time to preach and a time to pray; but there is also a time to fight and that time has now come." After pronouncing the benediction he threw off his gown, and was in full military uniform. Proceeding to the door of the church, he ordered the drums to beat for recruits and nearly three hundred of his congregation responded to the appeal. He at once marched to the relief of Charleston, and was engaged at the Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, Stony Point and Yorktown. Though he and his congregation were situated in Woodstock, Virginia, they were Pennsylvania-Germans.

⁷⁵ Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenberg, twice Speaker of the Pennsylvania Legislature.

⁷⁶ General Peter Muhlenberg, Vice-President of the Council during the Presidency of Benjamin Franklin, who was enfeebled by age.

⁷⁷ Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenberg was twice Speaker of the United States House of Representatives. He also had been a member of the Continental Congress. General Peter Muhlenberg was a member of the First, Second, and Third Congress, serving from 1789 to 1795. He was elected again, and served from 1799 to 1801. In the same year he was chosen to the United States Senate but resigned.

under the new constitution of the United States. In the great controversy about the national government, a large majority of the Germans in Pennsylvania decided in favour of its adoption,⁷⁸ notwithstanding the most popular arts were used to prejudice them against it.

The Germans are but little addicted to convivial pleasures.

They seldom meet for the simple purpose of eating and drinking in what are justly called "feeding parties"; but they are not strangers to the virtue of hospitality. The hungry or benighted traveller,

⁷⁸ This was the controversy through which Pennsylvania had just passed when Dr. Rush wrote his *Account*, a controversy in which he was deeply interested.

Dr. Rush does not directly allude to the Revolutionary War in this *Account*. We have summed up the services of the Pennsylvania-Germans in the War of Independence in *Note* 127. Though silent as to the great conflict through which his country had passed and in which he had been a participant, Dr. Rush in his *Life of Christopher Ludwick* describes Ludwick's patriotism as follows:

"He possessed at that time, nine houses in Philadelphia, a farm near Germantown, and three thousand five hundred pounds, Pennsylvania currency, at interest; all of which he staked with his life, in the scale of his country. He was elected successively a member of all the Committees and Conventions, which conducted the affairs of the Revolution, in Pennsylvania, in 1774, 1775, and 1776. His principles and conduct were alike firm, under the most difficult and alarming events of those memorable years."

"A general conviction of the ardor and sincerity of his patriotism procured him at once the offer of a chair or a seat at the dinner table wherever he went."—Rush, *Life of Ludwick*.

is always sure to find a hearty welcome under their roofs.⁷⁹ A gentleman of Irish extraction, who lost his way in travelling through Lancaster county, called late at night at the door of a German farmer. He was kindly received and entertained with the best of everything the house afforded. The next morning, he offered to pay his host for his lodging, and other accommodation: "No" said the friendly German, in broken English—"I will take nothing from you. I was once lost, and entertained, as you have been, at the house of a stranger who would take no pay from me for his trouble. I am therefore now only discharging that debt:—do you pay your debt to me in the same way to somebody else."⁸⁰

They are extremely kind and friendly as neighbours. They often assist each other by loans of money for a short time, without interest, when the purchase of a plantation makes a larger sum necessary than is commonly possessed by a single farmer. To secure their confidence, it is necessary to be

⁷⁹ Tacitus, in his *De Moribus Germaniæ*, says: "The master of the house welcomes every stranger, and regales him to the best of his ability. When his provisions are exhausted, he goes to his neighbor, conducts his new acquaintance to another hospitable board. They do not wait to be invited; are received most cordially. Between an intimate friend and a stranger no distinction is made."—I. D. Rupp.

⁸⁰ The most liberal hospitality and disinterestedness mark the character of the Germans in Europe. *Goldsmith's Manners and Customs of Nations*, p. 64—I. D. Rupp.

punctual.⁸¹ They never lend money a second time, to a man who has once disappointed them in paying what he had borrowed agreeably to his promise or obligation. It was remarked, during the late war, that there were very few instances of them discharging a bond, or a debt, with depreciated paper money.

It has been said, that the Germans are deficient in learning;⁸² and that in consequence of their want

⁸¹ Wer puenctlich bezahlt, mag wieder borgen.

He that pays punctually can borrow again.

Koerte's Sprichwoerter.—I. D. Rupp.

I recall an old Pennsylvania-German, a professional man of high culture and character, who agreed to loan a sum of money to an acquaintance who said he would call for it on a certain day at 1 P. M. The man appeared a few minutes after 1 and was told that he could not have the loan, since a man who was ten minutes late in an appointment in which he was to receive money, would be sure to be late when the time came to paying it back.

⁸² It must never be forgotten that the whole legal, technical and political frame of activities in Pennsylvania was being conducted in a language with which the Germans were imperfectly familiar, and that, therefore, though many of them were intelligent, thoughtful, and well educated, they were unable to express themselves on points at issue to those round about them. They were right, far more so than the Quakers and the Tories, on all the large issues of the day, and they relied upon their leaders for information and for advice.

Says Barr Ferree (*Pennsylvania Primer*): "Schlatter was the leader of the Reformed. . . . Muhlenberg became the leader of the Lutherans in Pennsylvania and in the colonies. These two men with Saur of Germantown with his newspaper were the three leaders of opinion among the Germans in colonial Pennsylvania."

of more general and extensive education, they are much addicted to superstition,⁸³ and are frequently imposed upon in the management of their affairs.

Many of them have lost valuable estates by being unacquainted with the common forms of law,⁸⁴ in

It was John Peter Miller of little inland Ephrata who translated the Declaration of Independence into seven languages for the Continental Congress.

For certain reasons the Pennsylvania-Germans have suffered more than other stocks under the charge of ignorance preferred by the native American element, which does not understand them. It is so to this day. For the influence exerted by German thought on *American Education*, see Faust, *The German Element In The United States*, 1909, Vol. II., Chap. V.

⁸³ They were not at all superstitious in the sense of harboring fear, and they became suspicious of those who thought them overcredulous; but their largeness and even excess of faith in the supernatural, and the confidence and trust they reposed in men whom they looked to as leaders, caused them very frequently to be taken advantage of by men to whom they entrusted their affairs.

The history and traditions of their forefathers would tend to make the Pennsylvania-German feel that he would probably be taken advantage of, in business, at the hand of the stranger.

At the very start of their career as emigrants, many of them had been deceived by the flashy *Neulander*, and by the unworthy leaders given them by the *Neulander*. They had been obliged to work in the tar camps in New York, they had been sold as Redemptioners in Pennsylvania.

⁸⁴ Such losses are met with to-day yet on the part of very intelligent and highly educated people, who, however, are devoid of business instinct and training, and who repose all their confidence in their business agents. To expect an acquaintance with

the most simple transactions; and many more of them have lost their lives, by applying to quacks⁸⁵ in sickness: but this objection to the Germans will soon cease to have any foundations in Pennsylvania. Several young men,⁸⁶ born of German parents, have been educated in law, physic,⁸⁷ and divinity,⁸⁸ who the common forms of law on the part of the German immigrants is setting the goal very high.

⁸⁵ Dr. Rush was a physician. Although he himself, in many places in his writings, testifies to the primitive and unreliable character of the science of medicine in his day, yet here he shows a proper professional antipathy to those who set themselves up as skilled in the science of healing, without possessing the necessary qualifications or credentials. However, it is not only ignorant German immigrants in the eighteenth century, but very intelligent Americans of the twentieth century who resort to quack prescriptions and patent medicines in time of illness.

⁸⁶ Dr. Rush is doubtless referring to young Germans of the second generation who were at that time enrolled in the University of Pennsylvania. He penned these words in 1789, and a few years later, there graduated from the University of Pennsylvania one of these young men, George Lochman, who became a predecessor of the present writer in the Lutheran parish at Lebanon. Of the nine or ten pastors who have guided this old Pennsylvania-German parish during a century and a half, at least six have been graduates of universities.

⁸⁷ There lived at Hilspach, not far from Neckar Gemuend, near Heidelberg, Johannes Caspar Wuester—two of his sons emigrated to Pennsylvania; Caspar, in 1717, and Johannes, in 1727. Of the grandson of Caspar, Davenport says: "Caspar Wistar, a celebrated physician, was born in Philadelphia in 1761. He studied medicine under Dr. John Redman, and completed his professional course at the schools in London and Edinburgh. Returning in 1787 to his native city, he soon distinguished him-

have demonstrated by their abilities and knowledge, that the German genius for literature has not depreciated in America. A college has lately been founded by the state in Lancaster,⁸⁹ and committed chiefly to the care of the Germans of all sects, for

self in his profession, and in 1789 was elected professor of chemistry in the college of Philadelphia. In 1792 he became adjunct professor of anatomy, midwifery and surgery, with Dr. Shippen; and, on the decease of that gentleman, in 1808, sole professor. His acquirements in professional knowledge were very extensive, and he obtained much popularity as a lecturer. His chief work is a valuable system of *Anatomy, in two volumes*. He died 1819."—I. D. Rupp.

⁸⁸ Students of the Rev. Dr. John Christopher Kunze, a graduate of the University of Leipsig, who was professor of German and the Oriental Languages in 1780, and professor of Oriental Languages and Literature in Columbia College, New York, from 1784 on. He was the most influential advocate of the use of the English language by the Germans in this country in religious and other public gatherings, and issued the first English Lutheran Hymnal in America.

⁸⁹ The Assembly passed the act to incorporate Franklin and Marshall College on March 10, 1787, on the ground that "the citizens of this state of German birth or extraction, have eminently contributed by their industry, economy and public virtues to raise the state to its present happiness and prosperity." The act declares one of the purposes of the college to be "that the youth shall be taught in German, English, Latin, Greek and other learned languages." For further information as to the origin of this college see Dubbs, *History of the Reformed Church, Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society*, XI.; Schmauk, *History of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, XI.; Dubbs, *History of Franklin and Marshall College* (1903).

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMANS.



A PAGE FROM MUHLENBERG'S HERBARIUM.

"SCUTELLARIA CORDIFOLIA."

PHOTO. BY J. F. SACHSE.

the purpose of diffusing learning among their children. In this college^{89a} they are to be taught the German and English languages, and all those branches of literature which are usually taught in the colleges of Europe and America. The principal of this college is a native of Pennsylvania, of German parentage. His extensive knowledge and taste in the arts and sciences, joined with his industry in the discharge of the duties of his station, have afforded to the friends of learning in Pennsylvania, the most flattering prospects of the future importance and usefulness of this institution.⁹⁰

Both sexes of the Germans discover a strong propensity to vocal and instrumental music.⁹¹ They

^{89a} This college is named after Dr. Franklin, who was president of the State at the time it was founded, and who contributed very liberally to its funds.

⁹⁰ Henry Ernst Muhlenberg, pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church, Lancaster, the most learned botanist in America, and known as such throughout Europe, of the eighteenth century. His work on grasses, written in the Latin language, is still a high authority. With him was associated the Rev. Frederick Mel-sheimer, whose collection of insects was so complete that it was purchased by Harvard University as late as 1860.

To these learned Pennsylvania-Germans should be added such scientists as David Rittenhaus, who discovered the compensating pendulum, and the author on the Fungi of North America who discovered twelve hundred species new to science, who came from Nazareth; and William Audenried, who originated the plan of public education in our country.

⁹¹ The Moravians of Bethlehem not only excelled in vocal and all orchestral music, but produced the greatest line of pipe organ

excel, in psalmody, all the other religious societies in the state.⁹²

builders in America, culminating in David Tannenberger. The Germans of Pennsylvania were the best singers in the commonwealth. As early as 1750 Gottlieb Mittelberger brought an organ from Heilbronn, Germany, for the St. Michael's Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, and at the time when Dr. Rush was active, the largest organ in the United States, built by Tannenberger, stood in the German Zion Lutheran Church in Philadelphia.

⁹² The singing in the German churches, often with organs, is noted by local chroniclers as remarkable, in certain of the old records that have come down to us from the past.

On this subject see also Sachse, *The Music of the Ephrata Cloister, Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society, XII.*, pp. 6-106.





THE RELIGIOUS BODIES.⁹³



THE freedom and toleration of the govern-

⁹³ "The Church encountered, at her entrance on this western world, the difficulty connected with the diversity of language. The song of Zion was to be sung in a strange land—where its sweetest utterances seemed a jargon and a babbling. They could not understand her testimony; they knew not of her rich literature, and of her glorious history; and when the poor German tried, in soul-deep utterances, to show that he had the same faith as Christ's people around him, they forgot the faith, and laughed at the broken utterances of his unhabituated lips. He knew his mother tongue too well to be laughed out of the heritage it brought him, and clung to it with a tenacity, religious, and sometimes almost fanatical. One national life was to pass over into another; the warm-hearted, simple-minded German was to be shaped in the mould of a harder national type. Our nation is not specially endowed with the faculty of entering into the peculiarities of others, and doing them justice. We have too determined a disposition to think well of ourselves. . . . Many of the German emigrants were poor, and in perpetual danger of becoming absorbed in purely material interests.

ment has produced a variety^{93a} of sects, among the Germans in Pennsylvania.

✓ The Lutherans compose a great proportion of the German citizens of the state.⁹⁴ Many of their churches are large and splendid.⁹⁵ The German

“Never was there such a harvest with so few laborers. It took a strong constitution to bear such an acclimation as she was called to pass through; but the Church still not only breathes, she *lives*.” —Charles Porterfield Krauth, in Spaeth, *Life of Krauth*, Vol. II., p. 42.

✓ ^{93a} Penn’s frame of government expressly provided this religious freedom. William Penn himself, speaking the German language well, was the personal originator of the German settlements in Pennsylvania. He visited the Fatherland three times in the interest of immigration and heartily welcomed the first immigrants to his forest province. It was he who was ultimately responsible for the transplanting of such a variety of religious belief.

⁹⁴ The statistics of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania show that in 1793 the two pastors in Philadelphia, whom Dr. Rush knew, viz., Dr. Helmuth and Rev. Schmidt, had 1996 communicants. The Lutheran Church has lost large numbers, because of its Germanic character, in the State of Pennsylvania, and the Reformed Church has given many members to the Presbyterian and other denominations. On the history of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania see the *Documentary History of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania; Hallesche Nachrichten*, by Mann and Schmucker, Allentown, Pa., 1886, two volumes; new edition, General Council Publication House, Philadelphia; Schmauk, *History of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, 1903, General Council Publication House, Philadelphia.

⁹⁵ “Let us,” said Mr. Ludwick, “take them to Philadelphia, and there show them our fine German churches.”—Rush, *Life of Christopher Ludwick*, p. 12.

Presbyterians are the next to them in numbers.⁹⁶ Their churches are likewise large and furnished, in many places, with organs. The clergy, belonging to these churches, have moderate salaries, but they are punctually and justly paid. In the country they have glebes which are stocked and occasionally worked by their congregations. The extra expenses of their ministers, in all their excursions to their ecclesiastical meetings, are borne by their respective congregations. By this means the discipline and

The Zion Lutheran Church, on Fourth and Cherry Street, Philadelphia, was the largest religious edifice in America. It was destroyed by fire after the Christmas festivities held in the church, five years after Dr. Rush's "*Account*" was written. On December 28, 1794, Dr. Rush placed the following note in his diary: "Met Dr. Helmuth going into St. Michael's Church on Fifth Street and condoled with him on the burning of his church on the evening of December 26. He said that it belonged to this world and he hoped that it would be the means of building up the invisible Church of Christ." The church was rebuilt, and in it were held the funeral services of George Washington in the presence of Congress, and Richard Henry Lee's resolutions were read, concluding with the declaration that the deceased had been "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens."

⁹⁶ On the history of the Reformed Church see *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania, 1747-1792*, edited by Good and Hinke, Reformed Church Publication Board, Philadelphia, 1903; Dubbs, *History of the Reformed Church*, 1895; Dubbs, *The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, in *Proceedings of Pennsylvania-German Society*, Vol. XI.; Dotterer, *Historical Notes Relating to the Pennsylvania Reformed Church*, Philadelphia, 1900. See also the *Researches* of Professor Hinke.

general interests of their churches are preserved and promoted. The German Lutherans and Presbyterians live in great harmony with each other, insomuch that they often preach in each other's churches and in some instances unite in building a church, in which they both worship at different times.⁹⁷ This harmony between two sects, ~~one~~ so much opposed to each other, is owing to the relaxation of the Presbyterians in some of the peculiar doctrines of Calvinism.⁹⁸ I have called them Presbyterians, because most of them object to being designated by the name of Calvinists.⁹⁹

The Menonists,¹⁰⁰ the Moravians,¹⁰¹ the Swin-

⁹⁷ The so-called Union Churches of eastern Pennsylvania, some of which have persisted to this day. They are not "Union" in the modern sense of that term. They are two separate congregations, with separate pastors, separate worship and separate literature, but they unite in the building of one church edifice, occupied alternately by pastors of each denomination, and with portions of both congregations attending all services.

⁹⁸ The *Heidelberg Catechism*, the symbolical book adopted by the German Reformed church, is, in its general character, Calvinistic. This formulary observes a singular moderation on some points, upon which the several parties in the Protestant churches differed, or respecting which good men might entertain different opinions. The Heidelberg Catechism is more irenical than otherwise.—I. D. Rupp.

⁹⁹ This sentence is omitted in the text of Rupp.

¹⁰⁰ Ely, *Kurzgefasste Kirchen-Geschichte der Menoniten*, n. d., Lancaster, Pa.; Musser, *The Reformed Mennonite Church*, Lancaster, Pa., 1878; Wedel, *Geschichte der Mennoniten*, 4 vols., Newton, Kans., 1900-1902; Smith, *The Mennonites of America*, Goshen, Ind., 1909. See also Horsch in *New Sch.-Herzog*, VII., 1910.

gelders,¹⁰² and the Catholics, compose the other sects of the German inhabitants of Pennsylvania. The Menonists hold war and oaths to be unlawful. They admit the sacraments of baptism by sprinkling,¹⁰³ and the supper. From them ¹⁰⁴ a sect has arisen, who hold, with the above principles and ceremonies, the necessity of immersion baptism; hence they are called Dunkers,¹⁰⁵ or Baptists. Previously to their partaking of the sacrament of the supper, they wash each other's feet, and sit down to a love-feast. They practice these ceremonies of their religion with great humility and solemnity. They, moreover, hold the doctrine of universal sal-

¹⁰¹ Reichel, *Early History of the Church of the United Brethren*; De Schweinitz, *Moravian Settlements in Pennsylvania, Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, IV., 53; Levering, *A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1741-1892*, Bethlehem, 1903.

¹⁰² See Kriebel, *The Schwenkfelders, Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, XIII., pp. 1-225.

¹⁰³ The Mennonites baptize the subject while kneeling, by pouring water upon the head of the person being baptized.—I. D. Rupp.

¹⁰⁴ Dr. Rush's statement lacks historical proof. The Dunkers (German Brethren), as a sect, have not arisen from the Menonites. Alexander Mack, of Vitchengestein, of Prussia, founded, 1708, this sect. Rev. Peter Becker, one of the German Brethren ministers came to Pennsylvania, 1719. Alexander Mack followed Becker to Pennsylvania, 1729, settled near Germantown—died 1735, aged 65—buried in Brethren burying ground, at Germantown.—I. D. Rupp.

¹⁰⁵ See Falkenstein, *The German Baptist Brethren or Dunkards, Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, X.

vation. From this sect there have been several seceders, one of whom devoted himself to perpetual celibacy.¹⁰⁶ They have exhibited for many years, a curious spectacle of pious mortification, at a village called Ephrata,¹⁰⁷ in Lancaster County. They are at present reduced to fourteen or fifteen members. The Separatists who likewise dissented from the Dunkers, reject the ordinance of baptism and the sacrament; and hold the doctrine of the Friends, concerning the internal revelation of the gospel. They hold, with the Dunkers, the doctrine of universal salvation.¹⁰⁸ The singular piety, and exemplary morality of these sects,¹⁰⁹ have been urged, by the advocates for the salvation of all mankind, as a proof that the belief of that doctrine is not so unfriendly to morals, and the order of society, as has been supposed. The Dunkers and Separatists agree in taking no interest upon money, and in not applying to law to recover their debts.

The German Moravians are a numerous and respectable body of christians in Pennsylvania. In their village of Bethlehem, there are two large stone buildings, in which the different sexes are educated in habits of industry in useful manufac-

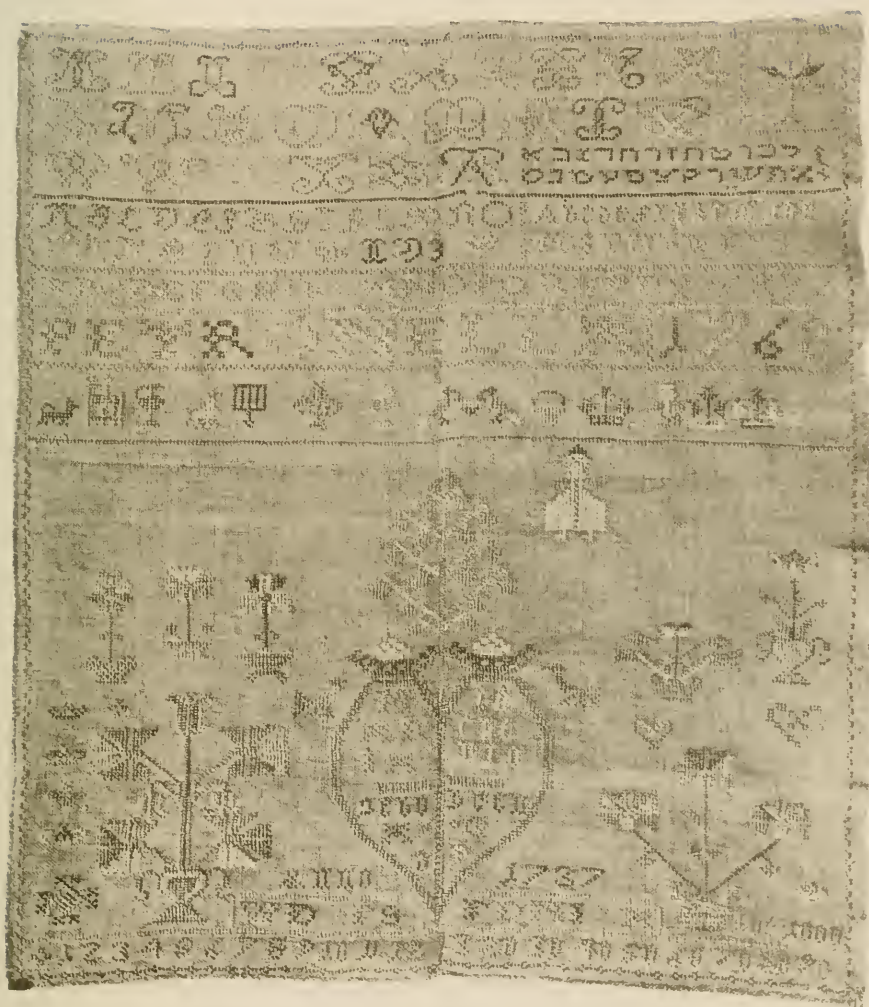
¹⁰⁶ Conrad Beissel.

¹⁰⁷ For the Community at Ephrata, and many others of the early religionists, see Sachse, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1708-1742*, two volumes, Philadelphia, 1899.

¹⁰⁸ This last clause must be received *cum grano salis*.—I. D. Rupp.

¹⁰⁹ See Sachse, *The German Sectarians*.

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MARIA HÖCKER'S SAMPLER.

A SPECIMEN OF WOMAN'S HANDICRAFT, EPHRATA, 1768.

tures. The sisters (for by that epithet the women are called) all sleep in two large and neat apartments. Two of them watch over the rest, in turns, every night, to afford relief from the sudden indispositions which sometimes occur, in the most healthy persons, in the hours of sleep. It is impossible to record this fact, without pausing a moment to do homage to that religion, which produces so much union and kindness in human souls. The number of women, who belong to this sequestered female society, amounts sometimes to 120, and seldom to less than 100. It is remarkable that notwithstanding they lead a sedentary life, and sit constantly in close stove rooms in winter, that not more than one of them, upon an average, dies in a year. The disease which generally produces this annual death, is the consumption. The conditions and ages of the women of the village, as well as of the society that has been mentioned, are distinguished by ribbons of a peculiar kind which they wear on their caps; the widows, by white; the married women, by blue; the single women, above 18 years of age, by pink; and those under that age, by a ribbon of a cinnamon colour. Formerly this body of Moravians held all their property in common in imitation of the primitive christians; but, in the year 1760, a division of the whole of it took place, except a tavern,¹¹⁰ a tan-yard, 2000

¹¹⁰ *The Old Sun Inn*, Reichel, *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, VI., pp. 44-74.

acres of land near Bethlehem, and 5000 acres near Nazareth, a village in the neighborhood of Bethlehem. The profits of these estates are appropriated to the support and propagation of the gospel. There are many valuable manufactures¹¹¹ carried on at Bethlehem. The inhabitants possess a gentleness in their manners, which is peculiarly agreeable to strangers. They inure their children, of five and six years old, to habits of early industry. By this means they are not only taught those kinds of labour which are suited to their strength and capacity, but are preserved from many of the hurtful vices and accidents to which children are exposed.¹¹²

The Swingfelders are a small society.¹¹³ They

¹¹¹ See, e. g., *The Pottery of the Pennsylvania-Germans* by Henry C. Mercer, *The Pennsylvania-German*, April, 1901.

¹¹² The Moravians, by reason of their deep interest in Pennsylvania-German history, of the vast quantities of intelligent and reliable historical material contained in the diaries of the pastors of their congregations, from the early dates down, of the large store of historical documents to be found in their archives at Bethlehem, and because of their cemeteries, their interests in education, and their quaint and well-preserved historical buildings, are among the most valuable contributors to researches in Pennsylvania-German history.

¹¹³ *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum*, Vol. I. Dr. Chester D. Hartranft, Hartford Theological Seminary, editor-in-chief; Otto Bernhard Schlutter, Hartford Theological Seminary; Rev. E. E. S. Johnson, Hartford Theological Seminary, associate editors. LXX., 661 pp. Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1907. The first volume of a complete edition of the writings of Caspar Schwenckfeld, undertaken by the Schwenckfelders in America.

Neu-Eingerichtetes
Gesang-Buch
 in sich haltend
 eine
Sammlung
 (mehrtheils alter)
 schöner lehr-reicher und erbaulicher
Lieder,
 Welche von langer Zeit her bey den Bekennern
 und Liebhabern der Ehren und Wahrheits
 Jesu Christi das einzige in Übung
 gewesen.
 Nach den Haupt-Stücken der Christli-
 chen Lehre und Glaubens eingetheilt,
 und
 Mit einem Verzeichniß der Titel
 und deren Nützlichen Registriren
 versehen.
 Anjeho- also annehmen getragen,
 Zum Lobe Gottes und heilsamen
 Erbauung im Christenthum,
 als Richt- gegeben.
 Germantown, gedruckt bey Christoph Sauter,
 auf Solten vornehmster Freyheit. 1782



Singen das löblichste Geschäfte.

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Hör, Gott! laß dich anrufen  
 Was unter allen Thaten  
 Am besten sey zu thun?  
 Schau! was thun dem die drohen.  
 Die dem Herrn lobst erheben.  
 Zu dienen stets vor seinem Thron  
 Weil dort der Engel Schaaren  
 Mit tausend tausend Psalmen  
 Den höchsten Lobgesang  
 Vor Gottes Throne führen  
 Dem Lamm jubeln,  
 Mit allerhöchstem Muth. Hana.

Neueingerichtetes  
**Gesang-Buch,**  
 enthaltend eine  
**Sammlung**  
 (mehrtheils alter)  
**erbaulicher Lieder,**  
 nach den Hauptstücken der Christlichen Lehre und  
 Glaubens eingetheilt



Philadelphia:  
 Gedruckt bey Conrad Zentler, in der dritten Straße,  
 unterhalb der Rebo-Bauhe.  
 1813

Neueingerichtetes  
**Gesang-Buch,**  
 enthaltend  
 eine Sammlung erbaulicher Lieder,  
 nach den Haupt-Stücken  
 Christlicher Lehre  
 Herausgegeben auf Besordnung  
 der  
 Schwenkfelder Gemeinde.  
 -----  
 Druck von D. & Danby Shepley, No.  
 1869

A GROUP OF PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN HYMN BOOKS (SCHWENKFELDIAN).  
 "They hold the same principles as the Friends, but they differ from them  
 in using psalmody in their worship."

hold the same principles as the Friends, but they differ from them in using psalmody in their worship.

The German Catholics<sup>114</sup> are numerous in Philadelphia and have several small chapels in other parts of the state.

There is an incorporated charitable society of Germans<sup>115</sup> in Philadelphia, whose objects are their poor and distressed countrymen.

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(See somewhat extended review of the work in *The Pennsylvania-German* of March, 1908, by Prof. E. S. Gerhard, Trenton, N. J.)

<sup>114</sup> Kirlin, *Catholicity in Philadelphia*; Lambing, *History of the Catholic Church in the Dioceses of Pittsburg and Allegheny*. See also *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* and the *American Catholic Historical Researches*.

<sup>115</sup> The German Society of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania, was incorporated 1764. This society supplied the poor, the sick and otherwise distressed Germans; . . . to teach and improve their poor children, both in English and German languages, reading and writing thereof, and to procure for them such learning and education, as would best suit their genius and capacities, and enable the proper objects to receive the finishing of their studies in the University of Philadelphia; likewise to erect a library, etc.

The officers of the society, named in the act of incorporation were: Henry Keppele, *President*; Lewis Weiss, *Vice-President*; Lewis Farmer and Henry Leuthaeuser, *Secretaries*; Christoph Ludwig, Peter Ozeas, Andrew Burkhard, John Fritz, Peter Kraft and Melchior Steiner, *Overseers*; Michael Schubert, *Treasurer*; Henry Kaemmerer, *Solicitor*; William Lehman, *Deacon*.—I. D. Rupp.

This Society is still in existence, and has just unveiled a monument in City Hall Square to the memory of General Peter Muhlenberg.

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMANS.



ONE OF THE EPHRATA PRINTING PRESSES, WHICH PRESSES SENT FORTH SO MANY  
WORKS OF TYPOGRAPHICAL ART INTO PROVINCIAL PENNSYLVANIA.

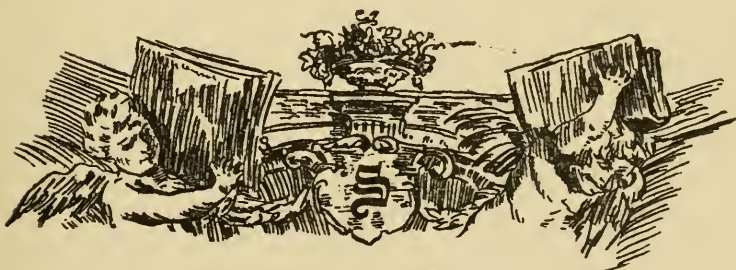
IN POSSESSION OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.



There is likewise a German society of labourers; and journeymen mechanics, who contribute 2s. 6d. eight times a year, towards a fund, out of which they allow 30d. a week to each other's families, when the head of it is unable to work; and 7l. 10s. to his widow, as soon as he is taken from his family by death.<sup>115a</sup>

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<sup>115a</sup> The grandfather of the present writer was for many years the secretary of the Unterstuetzungs-Verein of the St. Michaels, Zions and St. Pauls German Lutheran congregations, Philadelphia, conducted on somewhat similar principles.





## CULTURE AND PROSPERITY.



THE Germans of Pennsylvania, including all the sects that have been mentioned, compose nearly one third part<sup>116</sup> of the whole inhabitants of the state.

The intercourse of the Germans with each other, is kept up chiefly in their own language;<sup>117</sup> but most of their men, who visit the capital, and the trading or country towns of the state, speak the English language. A certain number of

<sup>116</sup> See other estimates in The Introduction to this "Account."

<sup>117</sup> This is still the case in 1910, one hundred and thirty years after Dr. Rush wrote his "Account." The hearty, personal, simple, unconventional character of the German language, and particularly of the Pennsylvania-German dialect, causes it to retain its hold on the minds of the people; and, although the dialect is dying out, German services are well attended in many churches in the country, and the German Scripture and German sermon are preferred because of the simplicity and superior heart power of Luther's translation to the more abstract language of the English version, by those who are masters of both tongues, but who were brought up by German parents.

the laws of the state are now printed in German, for the benefit of those of them who cannot read English. A large number of German newspapers<sup>118</sup> are likewise circulated through the state, through which knowledge and intelligence have been conveyed, much to the advantage of the government. There is scarcely an instance of a German, of either sex, in Pennsylvania, that cannot read; but many of the wives and daughters of the German farmers cannot write. The present state of society among them renders this accomplishment of little consequence to their improvement or happiness.

If it were possible to determine the amount of all the property brought into Pennsylvania by the present German inhabitants of the state, and their ancestors, and then compare it with the present amount of their property, the contrast would form such a monument of human industry and economy as has seldom been contemplated in any age or country.<sup>118a</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Philadelphia still supports German newspapers, but the real Pennsylvania-German newspapers of the inland cities and towns have died out. In the city of the writer, its line of German weeklies, after a continuous existence of over a century, ceased less than three years ago. The free rural delivery which brings the daily paper of the metropolis to the farmer's home every twenty-four hours is one of the potent causes of this decline.

<sup>118a</sup> "Dr. Rush says the Pennsylvania farms produced millions of dollars, which after 1780 made possible the foundation of the Bank of North America (chartered 1781)."—Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, I., p. 139.

I have been informed that there was an ancient prophecy which foretold, that "God would bless the Germans in foreign countries." This prediction has been faithfully verified in Pennsylvania. They enjoy here every blessing that liberty, toleration, independence, affluence, virtue and reputation, can confer upon them.

How different is their situation here; from what it was in Germany! Could the subjects of the princes of Germany, who now groan away their lives in slavery and unprofitable labour, view from an eminence, in the month of June, the German settlements of Stratsburg, or Manheim in Lancaster<sup>119</sup> county, or of Lebanon or Bethlehem<sup>120</sup> in the counties of Dauphin and Northampton; could they be accompanied on this eminence, by a venerable German farmer, and be told by him that many of those extensive fields of grain, full-fed herds, luxuriant meadows, orchards, promising loads of fruit, together with the spacious barns—and commodious stone-dwelling houses, which compose the prospects that have been mentioned, were all the product of the labour of a single family, and of one genera-

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<sup>119</sup> See *Proceedings of the Lancaster County Historical Society*.

<sup>120</sup> See *Proceedings of the Lebanon County Historical Society*; also Schmauk, *Old Salem in Lebanon, a History of the Congregation and Town*, Lebanon, Pa., 1898; Croll, *Ancient and Historic Landmarks of the Lebanon Valley*, Philadelphia, Pa., 1895. For Dauphin County see Egle, *History of the Counties of Dauphin and Lebanon*, Philadelphia, 1883. For Bethlehem, see work by Bishop Levering referred to above.

tion; and that they were all secured to the owners of them by certain laws; I am persuaded, that no chains would be able to detain them from sharing in the freedom of their Pennsylvania friends and former fellow-subjects. "We will assert our dignity—(would be their language) we will be men—we will be free—we will enjoy the fruits of our own labours—we will no longer be bought and sold to fight battles<sup>121</sup>—in which we have neither interest nor resentment—we will inherit a portion of that blessing which God has promised to the Germans in foreign countries—we will be Pennsylvanians."

I shall conclude this account of the manners of

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<sup>121</sup> Germans had been sold by their lords to England, to fight battles in which they had no interest, at several periods—1702, 1726, 1743, 1745. In the *prosopopæia*: "*we will no longer be bought and sold,*" are personated collectively Germans, called *Huelfs truppen*, subsidiary-troops, sold by several German dukes, landgraves, margraves, to the King of England, 1776–1783, to wage an exterminating war against the American colonies. The Duke of Brunswick sold 5,733; the Prince of Hanau, 2,422; the Margrave of Anspach, 1,644; the Prince of Waldeck, 1,225; the Prince of Anhalt Zerbst, 1,160; the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, 1,200; the Hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, 796; the Margrave of Brandenburg, 1,200—besides others. The aggregate number of these Germans that *perished in battle*, exceeded upwards of *eleven thousand*.

The sale of these subjects was a profitable business to their *humane lords*. The sum total paid by His Britannic Majesty to the several princes and dukes, was \$8,100,000.—I. D. Rupp.

It should be remembered that the kings of England at this time were themselves German princes.

the German inhabitants of Pennsylvania by remarking that if I have failed in doing them justice,<sup>122</sup> it has not been the fault of my subject. The German character once employed the pen of the first historians of antiquity. I mean the elegant and enlightened Tacitus.<sup>123</sup> It is very remarkable that the Germans in Pennsylvania retain in a great degree all the virtues,<sup>123a</sup> which this author ascribes to their ancestors in his treatise "de moribus

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<sup>122</sup> If all other writers on the subject, including many later ones, had done the Pennsylvania-Germans anything like the substantial justice which has been accorded them by the keen observation and clear judgment of the author of this "Account," their position in American literature to-day would be different from what it actually is.

<sup>123</sup> Dr. Rush was a keen observer, and possessed a judicial mind. He noticed that the prosperity of Pennsylvania was largely due to the Pennsylvania-Germans and began to examine into the causes of their success. He seems consciously to have imitated the example of the historian Tacitus, who described the virtues and vices of the ancient Germans, perhaps with a view to holding them up as an example for his own people.—Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, 1909, p. 130.

✓ <sup>123a</sup> While a Pennsylvania-German reared to the high qualities of his ancestral stock does deserve the encomium here given, on the other hand, a degenerate Pennsylvania-German is perhaps the worst of all the specimens of a ruined humanity. Boldness, rudeness, vulgarity, coarse sensuality, idleness, utter disregard of financial responsibility, and, in general, the lack of even those outer forms of culture which serve as a restraint in the public eye, frequently mark a degenerate and abandoned Pennsylvania stock, such as are to be found on the streets of our inland towns. Several of the most flourishing of these inland cities, and numerous

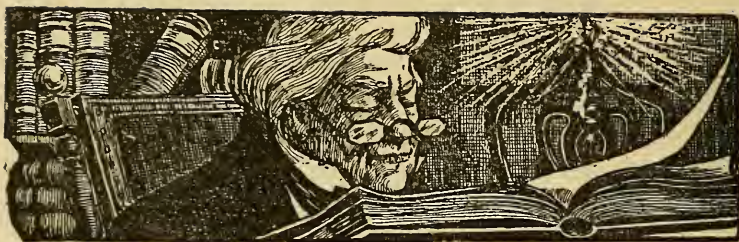
Germanorum.”—They inherit their integrity—fidelity—and chastity<sup>124</sup>—but Christianity has banished from them, their drunkenness, idleness, and love of military glory. There is a singular trait in the features of the German character in Pennsylvania, which shews how long the most trifling customs may exist among a people who have not been mixed with other nations. Tacitus describes the manner in which the ancient Germans build their villages in the following words. “Suam quisque domum spatiis circumdat sive adversus casus ignis remedium, sive inscitia edificandi.”<sup>124a</sup> Many of the German villages in Pennsylvania are constructed in the same manner. The small houses are composed of a mixture, of wood, brick and clay, neatly united together. The large houses built of stone, and many of them after the English fashion. Very few of the houses in Germantown are connected together. Where the Germans connect their houses in their villages, they appear to have deviated from one of the customs they imported from Germany.

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smaller manufacturing hamlets have become notorious because of the depraved life and wickedness which has been engrafted on parts of the originally noble and substantial Pennsylvania-German stock.

<sup>124</sup> Severe illic matrimonia: nec ullam morem partem magis laudaveris: The matrimonial bond is strict and severe among them; nor is there anything in their manners more commendable than this.—I. D. Rupp.

<sup>124a</sup> Each man leaves a space between his house, and those of his neighbors, either to avoid the danger from fire, or from unskillfulness in architecture.



### THE CONCLUSION.



CITIZENS of the United States learn from the account that has been given of the German inhabitants of Pennsylvania, to prize knowledge and industry in agriculture<sup>125</sup> and manufactures,<sup>126</sup> as the basis of domestic happiness and national prosperity.

<sup>125</sup> These words of Dr. Rush sound very much like the most modern utterances of James J. Hill, the western railroad king, on agriculture.

<sup>126</sup> Little did Dr. Rush dream that the Keystone State, as it has been now called, would become the great manufacturing state of the Union. Although the first iron furnace in Pittsburg was built in 1792 by George Anshutz, pig iron was not again made in Pittsburg until 1859, and the whole manufacturing development of the western part of the state, and the corresponding development to be found in such eastern parts of the state as Bethlehem, are quite recent in their growth; while the problem of immigration has shifted from that of the Germanic, to that of the Slav and the Romance nations.

LEGISLATORS of the United States, learn from the wealth and independence of the German inhabitants of Pennsylvania, to encourage by your example, and laws, the republican virtues of industry and economy. They are the only pillars which can support the present constitution of the United States.<sup>127</sup>

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THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

<sup>127</sup> In note 78 we have stated that Dr. Rush does not directly mention the valuable services of the Pennsylvania-Germans in the Revolutionary War. He may not have deemed it advisable to stir up old memories in the hearts of those to whom he was writing, as this would interfere with his commendation of the Germans to a portion of the English in Pennsylvania. His own memories and sufferings in the War of the Revolution may have deterred him from alluding to it, and the period in which he was now writing was that in which the thought of reconstruction, and not of warfare was uppermost, and he therefore emphasizes the virtues of the Germans with reference to this first constitutional period. But we have deemed it proper, especially since brief summaries of the service of German eastern Pennsylvania to the Revolution are not so accessible, to present a note on that subject:

During the Revolutionary War almost the entire frontier from Maine to Georgia was occupied by the German immigrants and their descendants. Nearly one-half of the whole number, estimated by some at 110,000 souls, were located in Pennsylvania. The same estimate sets the Germans in New York at 25,000, in Virginia and West Virginia at 25,000, in Maryland and Delaware at 20,500, in New Jersey at 15,000, in South Carolina at 15,000, in North Carolina at 8,000, in Georgia at 5,000, and in New England at 1,500. The Pennsylvania-German riflemen, the best marksmen in the American army, and the terror of the British, were a powerful factor, at the siege of Boston, in the defense of New York, and saved the army of Washington from annihilation in the battle of

LEGISLATORS of Pennsylvania,—learn from the history of your German fellow citizens that you

Long Island. As Captain H. M. M. Richards says, "They turned the tide at Saratoga by their sharp shooting, they were Morgan's reliance at Cowpens." (See Heckman, *The Battle of Long Island, Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, III.; Heller, *Gun Makers of Old Northampton, Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, XVII.; Richards, *The Pennsylvania-Germans in the Revolutionary War, Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, XVII.)

The Germans in Pennsylvania formed a solid background for the whole war. Their farms were the granary of the colonies. Their leaders were patriots in word and deed. Rev. Michael Schlatter was the chaplain of a regiment during the Revolution. Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, through his sons and through his congregation, fostered the cause of independence. Such representative men as Ludwick, Schlosser, Engel, Hillegas, Hubley, Barge, Rosz, Ferree, Slough, Erwin, Schultz, Potts, Kuchlein, Arndt, Weitzel, Hasenclever, Melcher, Wagner, Graf, Kuhn, Eichelberger, Smeiser, Levan, and Gehr, met as early as 1774 in Philadelphia to support the position taken by Massachusetts; and in the middle of June sent offers of men and money to Boston.

In 1775 the vestries of the German Lutheran and Reformed churches in Philadelphia issued a pamphlet of forty pages for the Germans of New York and North Carolina, in which they set forth the fact that the Germans in all parts of Pennsylvania had formed militia companies together with a select corps of sharpshooters, while those unable to do military service were willing to furnish contributions. This broadside was an earnest appeal to the Germans in other colonies for armed resistance against the English government. Bancroft (*History of the United States of America from the Discovery of the Continent*, IV., p. 318) says: "In the valley of the Blue Ridge the German congregations, quickened by the preaching of Muhlenberg, were eager to take up arms." The German Society of Philadelphia was active in the cause.

possess an inexhaustible treasure in the bosom of the state, in their manners and arts. Continue to

On June 14, 1775, three days before the battle of Bunker Hill, and a day before the appointment of Washington as commander-in-chief, Congress authorized the raising of six companies of expert riflemen in Pennsylvania, two in Maryland, and two in Virginia. On June 22d, Pennsylvania was directed to raise two more companies. The first company to go from Pennsylvania to Boston was Captain Nagle's Pennsylvania-Germans from Berks County. These Reading riflemen had marched to Boston by July 18th, thirty-four days after Congress had authorized the formation of the battalion. In less than another month the power of their rifles and the accuracy of their aim were known to both the British and the American forces, neither of whom had seen a rifle before.

At the battle of Long Island, Colonel Miles with his Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment formed the extreme left, with Colonel Atlee's Pennsylvania Musketry Battalion on the right center, and Lutz's Battalion supporting them. The Germans were barely of 5,000, with the British of 20,000 against them. These riflemen, with the enemy on front, in the flank, and in the rear, died to save the American army. Colonel Kùchlein's company from Easton went into battle with less than a hundred men, and came out with seventy-one of them dead. Thompson's Rifle Battalion was one of the finest organizations in the Continental Army, and was Pennsylvania-German, largely from Lancaster and York counties. Two-thirds of Morgan's "Virginians," a picked corps of rifle sharpshooters, were Pennsylvanians, and a large part of them Pennsylvania-Germans. With von Ottendorff's corps and Schott's dragoons, and Pulaski's Legion, they did gallant service in the south and at Yorktown. Pulaski's Legion carried an embroidered crimson standard made by the Moravian single sisters of Bethlehem.

When it was suspected that there were Tories in the body-guard of Washington, its personnel was changed, and the leaders turned to the trusty Germans, of whom it was now made up. Van

patronize their newly established seminary of learn-

Heer's independent Troop of Horse, recruited chiefly in Berks and Lancaster counties, was composed entirely of Germans, who entered the war in the spring of 1778, and were honorably discharged at the end of the war. Twelve of them, who had served longer than any other American soldiers, escorted Washington to his home at Mount Vernon at the close of the war. Hundreds of German soldiers served in the continental regiments 1 to 13 of Pennsylvania. The First Pennsylvania Battalion, commanded by Colonel John Philip de Haas, a Pennsylvania-German from Lebanon, took part in the Canada expedition of General Arnold. The Second Pennsylvania Battalion was almost entirely Pennsylvania-German and also went to Canada, in part under the leadership of Colonels Wayne and Allen. The Third and Fifth Pennsylvania Battalions were largely Pennsylvania-German. Miles' Rifle Regiment was made up of Pennsylvania-Germans.

John Peter Muhlenberg was the right hand man of Baron Steuben, in Virginia, in creating an army, and won distinction at the battles of Charleston, Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, Stony Point and Yorktown. His regiment was always better filled than others. At the Brandywine, his brigade covered the retreat of the American army and prevented its annihilation by Cornwallis. At Germantown it divided the wing of the enemy in a brilliant bayonet attack. Steuben's influence, by which he transformed the Revolutionary Army into a well disciplined body, was altogether German. His brigade was at least one-half German, and was in the trenches at Yorktown, when the first overtures of peace came from Cornwallis. The Continental Army contained many Pennsylvania-German officers, among whom were General Daniel Hiester, Colonel Frederick Antes, Lieutenant Colonel Jacob Reed, Captain John Hiester, Captain John Arndt, Colonel Peter Kùchlein, Colonel Philip Greenawalt, Colonel Nicholas Hausegger and many others. David Ziegler, of Lancaster, as the adjutant of the second Pennsylvania regiment to enlist for the war under Washington, became the senior captain of the First Pennsylvania Conti-

ing and spare no expense<sup>128</sup> in supporting their public free-schools. The vices which follow the want of religious instruction,<sup>129</sup> among the children

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mental Regiment. Daniel Hiester, of Reading, had four sons, all of whom entered the army as officers. Joseph Hiester became brigadier general on Washington's recommendation. Among the German officers that fell were Lieutenant Colonel Kuchlein, Piper, and Lutz. (See H. M. M. Richards, *The Pennsylvania-German in the Revolutionary War, Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, XVII.; Rosengarten, *German Soldiers in the War of the United States*, Philadelphia, 1890; Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1909.)

<sup>128</sup> Pennsylvania appropriates annually five million dollars for the cause of education. The state system of education, from its introduction under the German governors, and from the days of Higbee and Wickersham down to the present moment, except the University of Pennsylvania, is in control of Pennsylvania-German educators. The Superintendent of Public Instruction in the State, Dr. N. C. Schaeffer, and the Superintendent of Public Schools in Philadelphia, Dr. Martin Brumbaugh, are both Pennsylvania-Germans.

<sup>129</sup> As we have seen, Dr. Rush was deeply interested in public education, especially in the education of the lower classes, and he found a man after his own heart in the person of the German Christopher Ludwick. Ludwick devised the bulk of his estate for the public education of the poor, and there are certain indications from which it may perhaps be inferred that this disposition was suggested to him by Dr. Rush, or that Dr. Rush, at least, aided him in putting his desire into proper form. In his account of the life of Ludwick, Rush devotes much space to recounting the terms of this legacy as follows:

"The same just and charitable disposition which governed his actions in life, manifested itself in an eminent degree in his will;

of poor people, lay the foundation of most of the jails, and places of public punishment in the state.

in which after bequeathing various family legacies, he gives five hundred pounds, in equal shares, to the German Reformed Church in Philadelphia, to the German Society, to the University of Pennsylvania, and the Lutheran Church at Beggarstown, to be employed in educating poor children. To the Pennsylvania Hospital, he gives one hundred pounds for the relief of poor patients, and to the Guardians of the Poor, two hundred pounds, to be laid out in fire wood for the use of the poor in Philadelphia. The residue of his estate is then disposed of by the following bequest, viz.:

“‘ITEM. As I have, ever since I arrived to the years of discretion, seen the benefit and advantage that arise to the community by the education and instruction of poor children, and have earnestly desired that an institution could be established in this city or liberties, for the education of poor children of all denominations gratis, without any exception to country, extraction or religious principles of their friends or parents; and as the residue and remainder of my estate will, in my opinion, amount to upwards of three thousand pounds specie, I am willing that the same shall be my mite or contribution towards such institution, and flatter myself that many others will add and contribute to the fund for so laudable a purpose. And therefore I do will, devise, and direct that all the residue and remainder of my estate, real and personal, whatsoever and wheresoever, not hereinbefore otherwise disposed of, shall be appropriated as and towards a fund, for the schooling and educating gratis, of poor children of all denominations, in the city and liberties of Philadelphia, without any exception to the country, extraction, or religious principles of their parents or friends; and for that purpose shall be vested by my executors, or the survivors or survivor of them, or the executor of such survivor, in the public funds, or placed out at interest on good and sufficient land security, or in the purchase of well-secured ground rents, and the annual interest and

Do not contend with their prejudices in favour of their language. It will be the channel through

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income thereof, from time to time, used and applied by them my said executors and the survivors or survivor of them, and in case of all their deaths, then by the Guardians or Overseers of the Poor in the said city or liberties for the time being, and their successors, for the sole use and purpose of defraying the expense of schooling and educating of such poor children of the said city or liberties, whose parents or friends cannot afford to pay for the same, without any exception as above mentioned, until an institution and free school on the liberal principles as herein above mentioned, shall be established and incorporated in the said city or liberties, when all the said residue and remainder of my estate, whether in stock, mortgages or ground rents, and otherwise, shall vest in and be added to the fund of such charitable institution and free school, for the use and purpose of educating poor children as above mentioned forever.'

"If before the lapse of five years, such a school should not be established, he orders the said residue of his estate, to be divided in unequal shares among the German Lutheran, the German Reformed, the English Episcopal, the First and Second Presbyterian, the Roman Catholic, and the African Churches, and the University of Pennsylvania, to be employed by them, exclusively in educating poor children."—Rush, *Life of Christopher Ludwick*, pp. 23–26.

Dr. Rush regarded Ludwick himself as a striking illustration of the benefit of free schools. He says: "Without the advantages Mr. Ludwick derived from one of them, he might have passed through life in obscurity, or ended his days prematurely, from the operation of vices which are the results of a defect of education. It was from a grateful sense of the usefulness of the knowledge he acquired in a free school, that he took so much pains during his life, and in his will, to render that degree of knowledge more general, by educating the children of the poor people."—Rush, *Life of Christopher Ludwick*, pp. 27, 28.

which the knowledge and discoveries of one of the wisest nations in Europe, may be conveyed into our country.<sup>130</sup> In proportion as they are instructed and enlightened in their own language, they will become acquainted with the language of the United States. Invite them to share in the power and offices of government,<sup>131</sup> it will be the means of

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"He died in June 1801, leaving his residuary estate, estimated then at eight thousand dollars, to the association which should be first incorporated, for the purpose of teaching gratis, poor children in the city or liberties of Philadelphia, without any exception to the country, extraction or religion of their parents or friends. The magnitude of the bequest excited a desire in the then trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, to become the managers of this fund, and they of course became competitors with the society, in the endeavour to be first to obtain a charter."—Rush, *Life of Christopher Ludwick*, pp. 36, 37.

<sup>130</sup> A prophecy which has been most remarkably fulfilled, *e. g.*, by the writings of Prof. Hugo Münsterberg, of Harvard.

See Hinsdale, *Notes on the History of Foreign Influence upon Education in the United States, Report of the Commissioner of Education*, 1897–1898, Vol. I., pp. 604–607, and Learned, *Dedication of the Bechstein Library in Philadelphia*, March 21, 1896.

<sup>131</sup> THE GERMAN GOVERNORS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Here, again, the prophetic exhortation of Dr. Rush has been most remarkably fulfilled: "Politically the Germans long took an important part in Pennsylvania, all the governors of the State from 1808 to 1838 with one exception being of German origin."—Barr Ferree, *Pennsylvania: A Primer*, 1904, p. 102. The first German governor, Snyder, was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1789, a member of the House of Representatives for ten years, and Speaker of the House for the last

producing an union in principle and conduct between them, and those of their enlightened fellow citizens who are descended from other nations. Above all, cherish with peculiar tenderness, those sects among them who hold war to be unlawful.—Relieve them from the oppression of absurd and unnecessary militia laws. Protect them as the repositories of a truth of the gospel, which has existed in every age of the church, and which must spread hereafter over every part of the world.

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six years of his congressional life. His gubernatorial administration covered the period of the War of 1812. Governor Hiester had a brilliant Revolutionary record, was a member of the Convention to Ratify the National Constitution, and represented Berks District in Congress for fourteen years. His term began in 1820. Governor John Andrew Schultze was a German Lutheran clergyman, born in Berks County, and represented Lebanon and Dauphin counties in the State Senate. He was elected Governor by the largest proportionate popular majority ever given a gubernatorial candidate in the State. He filled two terms. Governor Wolf was a German of Easton, and a member of Congress. Under him the common school system was established throughout the state. Governor Ritner was the son of an Alsatian immigrant, practically without any schooling. He was Speaker of the State Legislature, and put the common school law into practical operation. Governor Porter was born in Montgomery County and was chosen for two terms. Governor Schunk, born at the Trappe, was chief clerk of the House of Representatives. His administration included the Mexican War. The colonial records in the Pennsylvania archives were begun during his administration. Governor Bigler, Governor Hartmanft, Governor Beaver, and Governor Pennypacker were all of the blood of whom Dr. Rush said, "Invite them to share in the offices of government."

The opinions respecting the commerce and slavery of the Africans, which have nearly produced a revolution in their favour, in some of the European governments, were transplanted from a sect of christians in Pennsylvania.<sup>132</sup> Perhaps those German Sects of christians among us, who refuse to bear arms for the purpose of shedding human blood, may be preserved by divine providence, as the centre of a circle, which shall gradually embrace all the nations of the earth in a perpetual treaty of friendship and peace.<sup>133</sup>

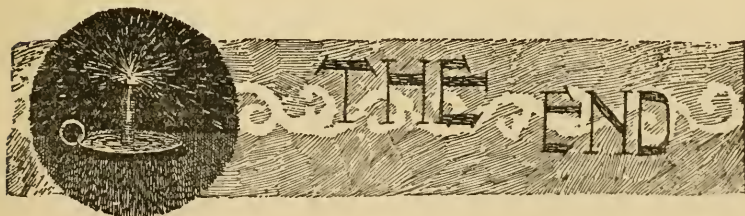
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<sup>132</sup> In March, 1780, the first abolition act passed in America was adopted by the Pennsylvania Assembly. It provided a gradual decrease which reduced the numbers from four thousand slaves at that date to two hundred in 1820. In 1794 a convention of abolition societies was held in Philadelphia. The Wilmot Proviso was offered by a Pennsylvanian in 1846 and declared that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any new territory acquired by the United States. Barr Ferree declares that the history of Pennsylvania "shows a more consistent and longer sustained condemnation of slavery than does that of any other state." Abraham Lincoln himself was the descendant of a Pennsylvania immigrant who lived in Berks County, so that Dr. Rush's own views and efforts in this direction were wonderfully fulfilled by the State whose legislators he is here addressing.

<sup>133</sup> Within the last ten years, the closing desire of Dr. Rush, in connection with his account of the qualities of men of German blood, viz., that there may be "a circle, which shall gradually embrace all the nations of the earth in a perpetual treaty of friendship and peace," has been making some progress toward fulfillment. The establishment of the Peace Conference at the Hague in 1899, at first deemed so visionary (see *The Peace Conference at the Hague and its Bearing on International Law*

*and Abolition*, by Frederick W. Holls, D.D., C. L. Macmillan, New York, 1900) has at least become a matter of history, and the words of its first President M. de Staal, have impressed themselves upon many rulers: "The nations have a great need for peace, and we owe it to humanity—we owe it to the governments which have given us their powers and who are responsible for the good of their peoples—we owe it to ourselves to accomplish a useful work in finding the method of employing some of the means for the purpose of insuring peace. It is to this high labor that we must concentrate our efforts—sustained by the conviction that we are laboring for the good of all humanity, according to the way which preceding generations have foreseen."—Holls, pp. 61, 62.

One of the leading members of this conference from America, and the author who has given us the story of its workings in print, the particular friend of Theodore Roosevelt, was the son of a German clergyman in Pennsylvania. And now that the policy of Mr. Roosevelt and of the German Emperor, which seems to be that of ultimate peace, on a basis of righteousness, has just been made prominent throughout Europe, and Mr. Taft's Pennsylvania Secretary of State, Mr. Knox, has declared it as his view that the era of universal international arbitration will be at hand before many years have elapsed, the thought of Dr. Rush, after coursing its way through blood, shed by our nation, righteously and unrighteously, for over a century, proves itself to be the predominant aspiration of leading American public minds of the Twentieth Century.





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